

Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books

THE
ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES
UPON THE CROWN

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, WITH NOTES

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

THE attempt to translate the Greatest Oration of the Greatest of Orators into a language so different in its frame and idiom from that noble tongue in which it was pronounced, had long appeared so hopeless, that, after intentions repeatedly formed, the plan was for some years abandoned.

During the period of my retirement from Parliament after the general election in 1812, I had frequent communications upon this subject with one of the best scholars and most acute, though severe, critics of his time, my lamented friend Lord Dudley; and it was principally an argument of his that then turned me aside from the project. When pressed with the considerations which naturally suggested themselves in favour of it—among others the example of Cicero, who had made the same experiment on the Latin language,—his answer was calculated to make me pause, from its appearance of sense and force. ‘Either,’ said

he, 'the translation is addressed to those who know the original, or to those who do not. The former cannot want it; the latter cannot materially profit by it; for no translation can give an adequate idea of the original.'

Subsequent reflection has served to remove the deep impression which Lord Dudley's argument had made.

It must be considered, in the first place, that even to scholars the experiment is not without interest of trying how far the two languages can be used so as to render in the one the thoughts couched originally in the other; and even to scholars the comparative trial of the structures of the two, their resemblances, their differences, and their contrasts, is very interesting. Then, if indeed this be not included in the preceding observation, there can no more accurate method be fallen upon for well apprehending the force and genius of both tongues than such a comparative trial. Many things are sure to be thus observed which had previously escaped our attention: nor is it to be doubted that the sense, as well as the diction, of the original, is much more thoroughly perceived and felt after such an attempt. I can truly say in the present case, that although the exquisite original had been, for many long

years, familiar to me in all its parts, most of which I knew by heart, yet I never felt its incomparable beauties, both in the substance and in the diction, until I made the attempt at transferring them into our Saxon tongue; and although there is far less benefit in this respect to be derived from reading the work, yet whoever shall, in perusing, compare it carefully with the original, can hardly fail to profit considerably, and to discover merits and peculiarities which had before escaped him. There is something in this process resembling the advantage we gain in relishing the beauties of the ancient dramatists, from seeing their pieces performed instead of reading them. Many a scholar has felt how greatly his notions of Terence were improved by seeing a Westminster play—however well acquainted he may have been with the original by previous study. The examination of the Greek Orator's passages, with a view to their being delivered to an English audience, the consideration of the effects which they are calculated to produce upon such an assembly, and the feeling of their effects as given in our mother tongue, is calculated to produce somewhat of the same effect.

The example of Cicero must here again be adverted to. No one could more thoroughly

know the Greek than he did, hardly even the Athenians themselves. He had practised declaiming in that language so much as to speak it with perfect ease. When he sent his History, written in Greek, to Posidonius at Rhodes, desiring he would write one in purer Attic, that Rhetorician said that the perusal of it filled him with despair of being able to improve the diction. Nay, when Molo, a teacher of rhetoric at the same famous school, heard him declaim in Greek, he is said to have lamented the complete subjugation of his country, which must now yield the palm in Attic eloquence to the people whose arms had subdued her. Nothing, then, could have made the Great Roman undertake the task of translating the two Orations on the Crown, except the desire of trying an experiment such as we have been considering, probably with some such views as have just been stated. The loss of his Translation (of which the Introduction only has reached us) is deeply to be lamented. But we may venture to affirm that the English language is much better adapted to the task here exacted of it than the Latin. It is far richer in roots and in idiom; much better adapted than the dialect of a barbarous people to express abstract ideas and the other thoughts which the progress of civility

and refinement gives birth to ; indeed in all respects except the want of flexion, it is better fitted to convey with closeness the sense of the Greek original. The complacency with which certain French artists have expressed a conviction that their language comes nearest to the Attic of any, should make us suspicious of our national partialities and slow to claim for our mother tongue any decisive superiority—for it shows how far prejudices will warp acute minds. Yet still there seems good ground for affirming that the English and German, and generally the dialects of Saxon or Teutonic origin, when improved and corrected by judicious importations from the ancient tongues are, of all others, if not the nearest in point of resemblance to the Greek, yet certainly the most capable of making its treasures accessible to those who are denied access to the original. Even against the superiority of the Latin in its conjugations and declensions (its greatest though not its only resemblance with the Greek) we may set off its want of articles ; and how far its similar flexion has aided the work of translation may be seen by its failure where the exquisite diction of the Attic Orators was to be imitated. The famous passage in the *Παραπρεσβεία* of Æschines (*ταῦτα ἐκάστη ποιή, &c.*) which Cicero has translated in

the Oration against L. Piso, ('*Hæ flammæ! Hæ faces!*' &c.,) being one where the merit lay in the sense, is far better given by him than either he himself has succeeded when parodying the beautiful climax in the *περὶ στεφάνου* (*οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, &c.*) or Quintilian when professing to translate it, the exquisite diction being here the great beauty. In truth the similar flexion of the Latin carries us but a small way towards approaching the Greek. It has no articles, and so far, is inferior to the English; and as for particles, the Roman artists and ourselves are alike deficient in that great resource, as the equally signal failure of both in attempting the famous passage just mentioned may prove, the use of the particles being the source of the delicacy of the diction in that passage, and even of its perfectly luminous perspicuity, notwithstanding its extreme concision. The tenses which are peculiarly Greek, together with the particles, are certainly the great instruments by which such nice distinctions can be maintained, and such delicate shades of meaning expressed; and in both these particulars the Latin and English are alike at fault. As for the rhythm, there is assuredly no advantage in the Latin over our own tongue. The English is as sonorous; it is more musical; it is more

majestic ; it is more various. At an immeasurable distance in all these respects from the Greek, our music is on the whole superior to the Roman.

It is, however, necessary here to remark that, of the scheme of Cicero's work, we can only form an idea from the few sentences of the Introduction which describe it very generally; and that it appears from these to have been anything rather than a plan of literal or close translation. He seems to have set himself the task not of saying in Latin what Demosthenes had said in Greek, but of speaking in Latin as Demosthenes would have done had he been a Roman and not an Attic orator. This may certainly increase our regrets for the work, but it by no means shows that the experiment on the powers of the languages was made. If on the other hand the plan was (as is barely possible) to show how Cicero himself, with his taste, his habits of composition, his turn of thought, would have treated the same topics, all likeness to the original must have been lost, and we have little to regret in the work never having reached us ; for in that case we have only lost one more Ciceronian oration.

Another object of translation, and which has by no means been lost sight of in the present

work, is to assist the student of the Greek language as well as the student of the rhetorical art. It is chiefly in this point of view that the learned Master of Rugby School (now flourishing beyond all former example under his auspices) has condescended to favour the undertaking; and the advice and assistance which I have received from him during the progress of my labours, demand my grateful acknowledgments. With the exception of a few pages, the whole translation and notes have been submitted to Dr. Arnold; and I have in almost every instance adopted his views of the text when they differed from my own. If however anything remains which may be supposed erroneous, I desire it to be assumed either that the fault is in my having retained my own opinion, or that the passage was part of the few pages which he happened not to see.

It remains to mention the third object of this work—the conveying to persons unacquainted with the original some notion of its innumerable and transcendent beauties. When one of the first scholars of the age, and the person of all I have ever known the most familiar with the Greek orators, urged me to undertake, or rather to complete the present work, (if I were to add also, the first statesman of his age, I should be

spared the necessity of naming Lord Wellesley) he was certainly misled by his friendly partiality of many years standing to think far more favourably of my fitness for the task than could be justified by the specimens which he had seen in the translation of the Chersonese Oration, published a year or two ago¹. But with his advice there coincided the strong desire of some much esteemed friends, admirable judges of composition and well versed in English oratory, to taste the streams which flow in such force from the perennial fountain of Attic eloquence, as near the well-head as their ignorance of the language would suffer them to approach. With them the experiment has proved eminently successful. They felt the wonderful power not only of the argument, but of the richly crowded statement, and of the noble declamation, in a manner which clearly proved that the translation had preserved a considerable portion of the original. The music and the diction of course escaped; but upon the whole, this trial shewed in a very satisfactory manner that, at the least, whoever was accustomed to oratory would gain by perusing the translation some idea of the Demosthenean manner. I have been encouraged by another

¹ Appendix to Dissertation on Ancient Eloquence. Speeches, vol. iv.

friend well acquainted with both ancient and modern oratory, and himself a most distinguished speaker¹, to believe that even on persons little versed in the arts of composition, the closeness, the vigour, the rapidity of the original are calculated, though only 'seen as in a glass darkly,' to produce a great effect. It was a remark of this excellent and experienced judge, on reading some of the notes where particular passages are pointed out as well adapted to succeed in our Senate, that the whole oration is eminently of that description; and therein it assuredly differs prodigiously from almost all the compositions of Cicero².

Such were the impressions under which this work has been persevered in, and such the encouragements which have enabled me to bear up against the innumerable difficulties of the task. Among these difficulties, it certainly would only be a becoming tribute to my predecessors were I to enumerate either their success or their

¹ Lord Lyndhurst.

² My learned friend also strongly urged me to undertake a task which I had long been contemplating, namely, an Imitation of the Great Oration, or some other ancient piece after the manner of Dryden's and Pope's Poetical Imitations. The delicacy of introducing parallel political topics, fertile as our times are of such, has hitherto restrained me.

failure. But, with every disposition to follow so customary a practice, I really cannot honestly bring myself to do so, especially considering the Notes with which I have been obliged to accompany the text. The reason of this must now be shortly explained.

No one can deny a great knowledge of the Greek language to such men as Leland, and Francis, and Cesarotti and Millot¹; nor indeed is Dawson in this respect at all deficient; while Wolff and Taylor must be admitted to have been among the most perfect masters of it. That both Leland and Francis, too, had very considerable power over the English language it would be absurd to deny; many passages have been rendered by both with success, some with great felicity. But one qualification for this task all those translators equally wanted; none of them had any practical experience of oratory; none of them had the habit of addressing popular

¹ His translation will stand a comparison with any other; it is indeed, in many respects, deserving of much admiration; and as far as a foreigner may judge, it stands very much out from the common level of Italian prose. The Abate's taste, however, is often at fault. What can exceed the outrage of adding a whole figure to the Oath passage, and making the warriors 'cover land and sea with their bodies'? as if Demosthenes wanted such a trope—as if the passage itself were not figurative enough!

assemblies, or even judicial bodies ; none of them were orators either accidentally or by profession. If Pope had been ever so good a Greek scholar, and no poet, his Homer might have borne a nearer resemblance to the original, but it would have been the resemblance of prose to poetry. Had Dryden only written his admirable Prefaces and Introductions, works that might have placed him in the first rank of English classics even if all his immortal verse had perished, he never would have given us that masterpiece of poetical translation,—his fragment of Lucretius. It could only be a great poet, too, who might attempt to supply Pope's deficiencies, and add to English poetry the Homeric sense and style, as Cowper has done with a success unaccountably overlooked, and well calculated to alarm any translator who relies upon his knowledge of Greek and his power over English, for the accomplishment of a literal version. Now those who have rendered Demosthenes came to the task as Pope, Dryden, and Cowper would have done had they never written any of the poems on which their fame is built. They were Greek scholars, and not English orators ; they knew the meaning of the one tongue, they did not know the resources of the other ; they could understand in what manner Demosthenes affected an Attic audience

but only by reading Demosthenes himself; they had no knowledge of the manner in which an English audience was to be affected, nor indeed had they a practical knowledge how any audience was to be moved or controuled. Nay more, they not only were themselves no orators, but they had in all probability very little experience of oratory as auditors. Their lives had been passed in colleges or schools where, if rhetoric is taught at all, there is a very great chance of something exceedingly unlike real eloquence being learned—possibly something the reverse of eloquence—for the true schools of oratory are the Senate, the Forum, the popular assembly. Their lives had not been passed in hearing the Erskines and Currans of the age, or in listening to Pitt and Fox, and Grattan, and Windham, and Canning. It was almost as if instead of Pope, and Monti, and Dryden, and Cowper attempting to transfuse Homer into English or Italian song, there had stood forward some one well acquainted with the Greek, a master of the Ionic and the Doric dialects, but who never had either written a couplet nor read a line of poetry from the time of Chaucer and Dante to his own age. Such a one might be of excellent use in helping a poet as Pope and Monti were holpen by men who knew Greek and had not the gift of song;

but their verse would never have found a patient reader. It would be an exaggeration to say that the translators of Demosthenes have fared as ill as these would have fared—yet it is quite certain that what was altogether inevitable has happened to them—their versions betray at every step their imperfect acquaintance with the art of oratory ; and whoever has been accustomed to address an audience or even to pass his time in hearing great debates, would have at once rejected many of the turns of expression adopted by them, and have put the sense in another form quite as a matter of course.

It is a further consequence of the same deficiency, though not a necessary consequence, that these translators have been ignorant of the resources of the language in which they undertook to write. This has led, in all the modern tongues, in none more than our own, to the most mischievous practice into which a translator can fall—that of paraphrase and circumlocution—and still more that of preferring a foreign or roundabout turn of expression to the pure and racy and vigorous English idiom—the strong and natural Saxon dialect never to be departed from without the most urgent necessity or the greatest temptation. Of this so many examples occur in the course of the present work, that it

would only be a superfluous repetition of the remarks contained in the Notes, were any examples to be given here.

The present translation professes to be as close as it is possible to make it without abandoning the peculiar idiom of the language in which it is written. How far any success has attended an attempt the extreme difficulty of which is most freely confessed as it has been most painfully felt, it is no business of mine even to form a conjecture.

It remains to acknowledge the great kindness of my old and valued friend, Thomas Campbell, who readily complied with my request that he would translate into English verse (of which he is so renowned a master) the Epitaph quoted by Demosthenes towards the close of the Oration. That a poet only could hope to succeed in this attempt has already, in discussing another matter, been incidentally observed—that such a poet was certain to succeed needs hardly be added. But one who has the highest hereditary titles both to Eloquence and to Poetry has ventured to suggest an alteration in one or two even of Campbell's verses, and with a success which he himself is the first to acknowledge.

Since the Notes were printed I have had occasion to peruse a French Translation which,

had I before seen it, would really have prevented some remarks upon the paraphrase of Dawson and others. Thus, 'τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν προσοφείλετε. Vouz baisez les mains avides qui vous lachent comme à regret quelque part de votre propre subsistence.' Again, 'οἱ δ' ἐν πόλει καθεύξαντες ὑμᾶς ἐπάγουσι ἐπὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τιθασεύουσι χειροῖθεις αὐτοῖς ποιῶντες. Comme des lions qu'on grille dans leur cage, ils vous enferment dans vos murs; ils vous tendent à manger pour vous caresser, vous apprivoiser, vous faire dociles à leur main.' Assuredly no English master of paraphrase ever went so far as to lend a cage of lions to Demosthenes for rhetorical uses. Writers of this class must be supposed to consider the old Greek a far worse orator than themselves.

The Editions which have chiefly been used in executing this work are those of Reiske, Bekker, and Stock; but recourse has occasionally been had to Hervagius, to Schäfer's collection, and to the very copious notes of Mr. Dobson's edition, which is of great value, as containing almost all the commentaries of the prior editions. The Greek is printed from Bekker, but with a copious selection of Various Readings from

Wolff, Taylor, Reiske, and other commentators. In preferring Bekker the advice of Dr. Arnold has been followed ; although I own my partiality for Reiske, whom I generally use. His text, beside being defective in the periods and paragraphs, has the great imperfection of loose commendation, and often enfeebles the original by adding, without authority, explanatory words ; but his notes, and especially his *Apparatus Critici*, are most convenient, from the mass of information which they bring together. Shall I also acknowledge the interest which one naturally takes in honest J. J. Reiske's zeal for the Attic ; his truly Germanic devotion to his great work ; his abomination (*horresco referens* !) of all translations except his own German one ; his gratitude to his fair helpmate for her assistance (and indeed for her not wholly ornamental portrait) ; his innocent rage against periodical critics¹ ; his yet more simple punishment of them, at his own expense, by affirming that he knows many more errors in his work than they ever

¹ Umbratici illi, e latebris, ut latrones saltibus insidentes, tela in prætereuntes conjicientes. Ejusmodi libelli menstrui sunt buccina diaboli, vel Erynneos, aut Bellonæ, ut veteres loquebantur, ejusque ululatum cum audieris et suspiceris quis inflarit, unde simultates et contentiones.

have found out¹; his fury against the degeneracy of an age that prefers interests and pleasures to classical studies²? The superiority of Bekker's text is, however, admitted. Whoever goes through the different editions, as I have been obliged to do, in order to select the Various Readings, will find constant reason to admire the unerring judgment with which he has steered his course, always fixing on the best reading, and rarely, if ever, indulging in conjectures of his own. Indeed, Dr. Arnold's authority would have decided on the preference due to his text, if any doubt had remained upon the merits. But the paragraphs are in the present edition differently cast from those of any other, and this change has been made upon much consideration. Some have thought that any division of paragraphs is inconsistent with the nature of a

¹ *Melius egomet ipse novi meæ interpretationis nævos quam illi omnes qui eam carpscrunt. Sed meliorem profecto quivis omnium condāt, neque condet.*

² *Bene de eo seculo nunquam speravi quod usū novi ventri, gancæ, luxui, libidinibus, cupiditati, et avaritiæ deditum, in equos, in canes, in scorta, in aleam, in cantrices, in scenicos, in nugas, in res quasque turpes, et corpori famæque, et rei denique familiari detrimentosas furiose suas opes prodigi, in res autem divinas humanasque præclaras publicèque salutare, patrice gloriosas, et ad omnem memoriam splendidas futuras vel obolum erogare réformidare tanquam si in puteum abjiciant.*

spoken discourse ; and accordingly Reiske makes no new lines at all, not even on the transition from the documents to the speech, only marking the paragraphs in the other editions with a †, §, or †§, referring to the Augustan and another MS. But pauses are rather more natural in spoken than in written compositions ; indeed they are necessary to the speaker far more than to the reader.

In the present edition, the Various Readings have been carefully selected ; but only material variations have been noted. Generally, all those have been omitted where the only difference relates to the accents or the circumflex, and which may rather be reckoned typographical than belonging to the text. Readings too have been altogether rejected which were plainly errors, in whatever accident they may have originated. Thus, in the celebrated Oath, *ἡμάρτετε* and *ἡμαρτήκατε*, are both given ; but to consider *οὐδ' ὅλως* (which has actually been cited from one MS.) as a various reading for *ὅπως*, would be ridiculous, as it plainly destroys at a blow the whole force of the passage. So in the same famous passage, *ἐθαύμασεν* for *ἐθαψεν*, appears in three MSS., and would be utterly inadmissible if it were in three hundred. The like may be said of *δημοσίᾳ* for *ὁμόλως* in the same

sentence; and of such variations in other places, as *φωνῆς ἀσκήσεως* for *φωνασκίας*; *τραγικός* for *αὐτοτραγικός*; *ἀτιμήσει* for *οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ*, *ποία βουλή* for *ποῖα βέλη*, &c. To have dignified such absurd conjectures, or manifest blunders, with the title of Various Readings would have been preposterous. It is only to be feared that notwithstanding the care taken to avoid it, some readings may have found admission, against which better scholars would have shut the door upon the same obvious principle.

It is right to add that Bekker's text, except as to the division of paragraphs, having been followed, it has not been deemed necessary to note every instance in which it differs from the others.

The beautiful edition of Demosthenes' Public Orations, by Bishop Stock, does great honour to Trinity College, Dublin. The type is admirable, and the size of the work very convenient. It is much to be wished that the 'Irish Sister' would oftener break through those 'silent' habits which have almost become a second nature.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

LET me begin, Men of Athens, by imploring of all the Heavenly Powers that the same kindly sentiments which I have throughout my public life cherished towards this country and each of you, may now by you be shown towards me in the present contest! Next I beseech them to grant, what so nearly concerns yourselves, your religion, and your reputation¹, that you may not take counsel of my adversary touching the course to be pursued in hearing my defence—that would indeed be hard!—but that you may regard the laws and your oaths, which, among so many other just rules, lay down this,—that both sides shall equally be heard! Nor does this merely import that no one shall be prejudged, or that equal favour shall be extended to both parties, it also implies that each antagonist shall have

¹ δόξης is not glory here, but honour—character—reputation.

free scope in pursuing whatever method and line of defence he may be pleased to prefer ¹.

Upon the present occasion, Athenians, as in many things, so especially in two of great moment, Æschines has the advantage of me. One is, that we have not the same interests at stake; it is by no means the same thing for me to forfeit your esteem, and for him to fail in his Impeachment. That to me indeed—But I would fain not take so gloomy ² a view in the outset.—Yet he certainly brings his charge, an unprovoked volunteer ³. My other disadvantage is,

¹ ὡς βεβύληται καὶ προήρηται — These words import the utmost freedom of choice, for whatever reason or from whatever kind of inclination

² δυσχερής. — Francis and Dawson (a more accurate scholar) render this as ‘inauspicious,’ and even Wolff and Leland have it ‘ominous’ But this seems an unauthorised version. The word means calamitous—vexatious—literally, unhandy or difficult, and may here be gloomy.

³ ἐκ περισθερίας has occupied the commentators, and one (Ulpian) refers it to bribes received from Philip, (taking περισουσία as abundance,) out of which the fine, *pro falso clamore*, might be paid. It seems to mean plainly enough *ex abundanti*—gratuitous—uncalled for—the act of a volunteer in bringing his charge—that which, because he attempts without any necessity, he may fail in without any skait. Leland is certainly wrong here in his periphrastic version: he connects ἐκ, &c. with the ἀναμνησκόμενος, and gives it, ‘Sensible as I must be of this my adversary’s advantage.’

that all men are naturally prone to take pleasure in listening to invective and accusation, and to be disgusted¹ with those who praise themselves. To him, therefore, falls the part which ministers to your gratification, while to me there is only left that which, I may almost say, is distasteful to all. And² yet, if from such apprehensions I were to avoid the subject of my own conduct, I should appear to be without defence against his charges, and without proof that my honours were well earned; although I cannot go over the ground of my counsels and my measures without necessarily speaking oftentimes of myself. This, therefore, I shall endeavour to do with all moderation; while the blame of my dwelling on topics indispensable to my defence must justly rest upon him who has instituted an Impeachment of such a kind.

But at least I think I may reckon upon all of you, my judges, admitting that this question concerns me as much as Ctesiphon, and justifies

¹ ἀχθουμαι may be rendered either by impatience, with Leland, or by annoyance, or disgust.

² Leland unaccountably omits the καὶ μέν, and thus not only loses all connexion between the two sentences, but spoils the fine argument conveyed by them. He is also wrong in inserting the words of contradistinction 'on the other hand,' for the clause that follows is not contradistinguished, but agrees.

on my part an equal anxiety¹; for to be stripped of any possession, and more especially by an enemy, is grievous and hard to bear; but worst of all thus to lose your confidence and esteem, of all possessions the most precious. *

Such, then, being my stake in this cause, I conjure and implore² of you all alike, to give ear to my defence against these Charges, with that impartiality which the laws enjoin—those laws first given by Solon, one as friendly towards you as he was to all popular rights—laws which he fixed, not only by engraving them on brazen tables, but by the sanction of the oaths you take

¹ *σπόνδῃ* is much more than 'attention,' (Leland) which would be exceedingly feeble to paint the feelings of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes. It is a word of much intension—it is ardour—zeal—anxiety, from *σπεύδω*, to press forward, to make haste.

² As if the Greek *ἀξιῶ καὶ δέχομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν*, were not strong enough, Francis is pleased thus to spin the words out into paraphrase,—'I with equal earnestness demand from your integrity and implore from your compassion.' The 'equal' is not in the original applied to *ἀξιῶ* and *δέχομαι*, but to the audience, *πάντων*. If *ἀξιῶ* be a demand of justice as contradistinguished from begging a favour, 'require' would serve that meaning; but the distinction is groundless; the words answer nearly to the Latin, *oro et obsecro*, or *oro atque obtestor*; and Francis seems merely to have been led away by love of paraphrase, and not to have any such nicety in view, though certainly Wolff had taken the antithesis before him.

when sitting in judgment ; not, I verily believe, from any distrust of you, but because he perceived that the accuser being armed with the advantage of speaking first, the accused can have no chance of resisting his charges and invectives, unless every one of you, his judges, keeping the oath sworn before God, shall receive with favour the defence which comes last, and lending an equal and a like ear to both parties, shall thus make up your mind upon the whole of the² case¹.

But on this day, when I am about to render up an account, as it should seem, of my whole life, both public and private, I would again, as in the outset, implore the Gods, and in your presence pour out to them my supplications, first to grant me at your hands the same kindness in this conflict which I have ever borne

¹ Translators have suffered to escape them the refinement of this commentary and gloss on Solon's law, and its application to Δ's case. They make him only ask for justice. So he does, and no more, upon the whole ; but he asks for it in a peculiar manner ; he begins by asking more at first in order that justice may be done on the whole ; he desires that, in order to balance the advantage of the First Word, he should be heard with some portion of extra favour, and that by this means, both parties being placed on an equal footing, justice should then on the whole be done between them by a fair examination of the entire merits of the question.

towards our country and all of you; and next, that they may incline you all to pronounce upon this Impeachment the decision which shall best consult the glory of the state and the religious obligations of each individual judge¹!

If Æschines had confined his charges to the matter in question, I too would at once have proceeded to discuss, in my own defence, the proposed Decree². But since he has chosen to employ no small portion of his speech in bringing forward other matters, and chiefly in order falsely to slander me, I hold it at once necessary and just, that I should begin by shortly adverting to those points, lest any of you, Athenians, led away by such extraneous topics, should lend an unfavourable ear to my defence in the cause itself.

The impressive earnestness which this prayer derives from its repetition so soon after it had been first offered up needs hardly be pointed out. In particular passages of deep pathos the same effect is sometimes produced with success, by repeating the same words without any variation, unless in the tone of the delivery.

¹ This passage shows the difficulty which often arises of giving the entire meaning of the original in few words. *αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπελογούμενος περὶ*, &c., denotes the proceeding straightway to discuss the Decree, but to discuss it *defensively*.

² The great skill of this movement, by which he at once taken up his position on his own ground, and there

To all his invectives, then, and the calumnies cast upon my private life, hear my honest and plain reply. If you know me to be such as he has described—and I have never lived any where but among you—then let me not be suffered to utter a word, be the merits of my administration ever so perfect, but rise up this instant and condemn me.¹ If, on the contrary, you know and believe that I am far better than him, and sprung from better men; that I and

fights the battle, instead of fighting it on the very disadvantageous ground chosen by his enemy (viz. the legal point of an honour having been conferred on a public account before audit), is worthy of especial observation. Napoleon's movement at Wagram resembled this, and was attended with equal success. The Austrians had been preparing for weeks to fight on one ground; he made a sudden and unexpected march which let him fight on another.

¹ This magnificent appeal can be rendered with great closeness if the force of our Saxon tongue be attended to and the Greek expressions not lost sight of, or diluted. Of this Francis seems to have been little sensible, when, while reading *lore*, you are conscious, he translates *πραξι-πολιτευμαι* (τὰ κοινὰ) 'my administration may have been unblamable, and even meritorious.' It is a word of great intensiveness, meaning the utmost possible success or merit in administration. Dawson is better, if profits 'though I had been the best public minister that ever was amongst you.' Leland, 'though my public administration may have had the most transcendent merit.

mine are in no way inferior to any others of moderate pretensions, (I would speak without offence,)—then give him no credit for his other statements, which are all manifestly fictions of the same mould¹, but continue to me henceforth the same confidence which you have so often heretofore steadily shown. But you, Æschines, with all your crafty malice, have been simple enough² to believe, in good sooth, that I should turn away from the subject of my conduct and my policy, in order to deal with your calumnies. I shall do no such thing, I shall show no such infatuation, I shall proceed instantly to the most sifting discussion³ of those measures which you

¹ ὁμοίως ἐπλάττετο. This is literal and not paraphras-
tical, the real and original sense of πλαττω or πλάσσω
being, to form as a potter does his clay. We have
borrowed from the Greek root our fine word, plastic;
and it has not lost its original meaning. Stock, when he
puts *similiter* in italics, appears to have rejected ὁμοίως
from the text, to which it is plainly quite essential.

² Τοῦτο παντὶ ὥς εὐθες φηθῆς—‘This you have altogether
simply, and in good sooth, believed’ The meaning is
clearly ‘you have in good sooth been simple enough to
believe,’ or ‘have rocked yourself into a belief.’ The
sense cannot be given without some circumlocution;
κακόβουλος, being put in contrast to this simplicity, must
mean more than malice: it is malice in the legal sense—
cunning spite.

³ ἐλέγξω must mean more than ἐτάσσω, which is to sift.

have been distorting¹ and running down; and afterwards I shall advert to the ribaldry² you have so shamelessly³ poured forth, if indeed there be any wish to hear that exposed.

The crimes ~~put~~ to my charge are many and grave; they are such as the laws visit with heavy, nay with the severest punishments. But the institution of this Impeachment is marked ~~with~~ the spite and scurrility of a personal enemy, with defamation, foul slander of my character, and everything of the kind⁴. Then such offences as I am accused of⁵ and attacked for,

¹ *κατεψεύδου*, lie about, *διαβάλλες*, accuse.

² *πομπείας*, 'ribaldry,' is literal; the phrase being the kind of scurrility poured out on the stage, in the Thespian carts, *ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς*.

³ *ἀναιδὴν* or *ἀνέδην*? is the question with some commentators. Wolff holds clearly against *ἀναιδὴν*, v. g. *ἀναιδῶς*, but Ulpian is as clear for it; and Reiske and Taylor both prefer it.

⁴ *ἐχθροῦ* here must have 'personal' enemy to mark it; mere enemy is not enough to render the sense. *προπηλακισμός* is more than slander—it is literally throwing dirt against one. Reiske changes *ἐμου* into *ἐμοῦ*, correcting the text happily. The *παντα τὰ τοιαῦτα*, here as so often used by Δ, and gathering its value from vehement enunciation, must be allowed to add nothing to the force, but rather to weaken the effect, of the preceding passage. Its sonorous quality possibly saved it in the Greek's delivery.

τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν, &c. This period, being appa-

the state really has not the means of punishing with adequate severity, or anything like it, if the charges were true. No one ought on any

rently little more than a repetition of what had been said the sentence but one before, has been the subject of much commentary ; and most scholars seem disposed to consider the text as corrupt, the rather apparently from the sentence immediately after *οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι*, seeming not itself to be very clear or significant. Taylor is very elaborate upon this altogether, and makes a bold emendation, extolled by Francis as the happiest in his whole work, but wholly misdescribed by him, as merely 'a judicious arrangement of the members of the sentence'; whereas, beside transposing the members so as to make the invocation, *οὔτε μὲν τοὺς θεούς*, immediately follow the description of Æschines' personality, and apply to it, Taylor leaves out altogether the passage beginning *τῶν μέντοι*, as if it had been a mere interpolation. His defence of the transposition, by referring to a like curious collocation, in C. Nepos' Life of Hannibal, and which he corrects, leaves this omission wholly undefended. Lambrianus transposes without omitting, and both these commentators transpose again at the mention of Ctesiphon, immediately after the allusion to the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, carrying that sentence to the end of the whole passage, after *τοῦτό γε*. There is no end of such licences as these ; and they are wholly unwarranted by any of the Codices. It is to be observed that Reiske makes not even a remark on the passage ; and Hervagius has it in the same form. But is the sense imperfect in itself ? Is there a useless repetition ? Is there a want of connexion ? First it may be remarked that there are two senses of the sentence, *οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι* ; one is the sense given in the text, and

account to be debarred of access to the people, or restrained in freedom of speech; but so ought no one to use that privilege for the pur-

which seems to agree with the whole of the charge, both in the previous portion of the exordium and in this place, viz., that, by delaying his accusation so long after the facts, as well as by attempting to hamper him in his defence, as already complained of, Æschines had deprived him of a hearing—and then that he had done so through malicious motives and personal spite. This fits perfectly well with the exclamation that immediately follows; for to be sure it is the greatest wickedness which could be imputed to an accuser. To this sense Lambrinus inclines apparently in his version. The other version is, that he is only admitting Æschines' right to impeach him provided he but does it with fairness, but contending that this right must not be abused to purposes of spite, making the *τοῦτο ποιεῖν* apply to the *προσελθεῖν καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν*, and not to the *ἀφαιρεῖσθαι*. It must be admitted that the connecting words, *οὐδ' ἐν*, suit the former less than the latter sense; but either is quite consistent with the general context, and with the exclamation being supposed to follow the sentence immediately, and not to belong to the former one, as Taylor would have it. But the error of Taylor and those who follow him is in supposing that the substantive to which the verb and the preposition in the disputed sentence, *τῶν μέντοι*, apply, is the same with the substantive in the sentence but one before, and therefore that there is a repetition. Now there is no repetition, for two reasons:—1. The proposition is different; the first sentence, *τὰ μὲν οὖν*, affirms that the many heavy charges brought against him are severely punishable by the laws; the proposition in the

poses of oppression and spite. By Heavens! Men of Athens, that is neither honest, nor statesmanlike, nor just. But if he saw me acting injuriously towards the state, especially if I were doing the things he has been declaiming and ranting¹ about, it was his duty to enforce the

subsequent sentence, τῶν μέντοι, affirms that the laws do not adequately punish the offences to which it refers. These are manifestly different propositions, and one is astonished at Taylor's triumphant exclamation, after putting the two side by side in parallel columns—'Conferas, trutines, metiaris, excutias, excrucias, quidvis fac periculi'—you will find nothing in the second that was not in the first. 2. The substantives referred to, the things respecting which the laws are said to take the severest cognizance in the first, and not to punish adequately in the second, are different. In the former it is the κατηγορημένα, the matter formally charged; but immediately after the first sentence comes the complaint that Æschines, actuated by personal enmity, had poured out personalities of all sorts against him. If these are true, there was no punishment half bad enough for me, says Δ. These what? Observe, the very word is different: it is κατηγοριῶν; it was before κατηγορημένα; the latter only means charge, the former also means matters or things. But, independent of this, it comes against the things enumerated, as added to the formal charge—viz., ὕβρις, λοιδορία, προπηλακισμός, and plainly refers to them—and thus the two are easily reconciled.

¹ ἐτραγῶδει, declaiming theatrically. Perhaps ranting sufficiently suggests the idea of the stage, which Δ always is apt to bring up against the τριταγωνιστής.

penal laws against me while those facts were recent ; if he saw me committing an impeachable offence he ought to have impeached me, and thus dragged me before you to justice ; if he saw me illegally propounding, he should have proceeded against me for Illegal Proposition¹. For never can he with any justice assail Ctesiphon through me ; and yet it is plain that, had he any hope of convicting me, he never would have accused Ctesiphon. But if he saw me doing any of those other things which he is now attacking and running down, or saw me in any way whatever injuring your interests, there are statutes for all such cases, and penalties², and

¹ The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was the prosecution for the offence of moving a law or decree of an unconstitutional kind.

² *ἄγων* and *κρίσις* are plainly here used—the one for civil, the other for criminal proceedings ; *ἄγων* is also sometimes used for the latter ; *κρίσις* never for the former. *καὶ τιμωρίαι* here puzzles Reiske, as it seems to have done Hervagius, who omits it altogether. Reiske suggests that it should be in the accusative, and then the sentence would run *κρίσεις ἔχουσai*, both *τιμωρίας* and *ἐπιτίμια*. Would not this, however, be an anti-climax from *τιμωρίας*, if you read that ‘punishments’ to *μεγέλα ἐπιτίμια*, great fines, as Reiske does, and indeed as all must substantially do who take *τιμωρία* to be ‘punishment,’ and *κρίσις*, ‘judgment’? This is a difficulty far more hard to get over than the last ; for who shall accuse Δ of saying—

sentences condemning to heavy and bitter punishments. All these he might have enforced against me ; and, had he done so, and pursued this course towards me, then, indeed, his charges would have been consistent with his conduct. But now, departing from the straight-forward and the just path, and shunning all accusation at the time, he trumps up, after so long an interval, his collected complaints, and invectives, and scurrilities. Then, he accuses me, but he prosecutes him ; he envelops his whole proceedings with the fiercest hatred of me, and, without ever meeting me fairly, endeavours to rob another of his good name. Wherefore, Athenians, over and above all the other just defences which may be set up for

‘For all such cases there are laws, and actions, and judgments, inflicting punishments and bitter and great fines’? If this must be the meaning of *κρίσις* and *τιμωρία*, the text may safely be pronounced corrupt, and the *τιμωρία* should come after the *ἐπιτίμια*. There is perhaps no authority for *τιμωρία* meaning a condemnation or sentence ; if there be, *κρίσις* may be and is often used for the charge or accusation. Independent of the anticlimax, *τιμωρία* *ἔχουσιν ἐπιτίμια* is hardly sensible, if *τιμωρία* means punishment ; for it would be punishment inflicting fines, or punishments of which heavy fines are parcel, as if that were the worst of all sufferings. Both Francis and Dawson are wholly careless of the original in their versions of this remarkable passage.

Ctesiphon, this one appears to me most manifestly in point, that Æschines and I ought to carry on our mutual hostilities between ourselves, and not lay aside our own controversy in order to try how much harm we can do another party; for that is indeed the very extravagance¹ of injustice.

It is easy then to see that all the charges against me are as little founded in justice and in truth as those. Nevertheless I am desirous of examining them each and all, especially his falsehoods touching the Peace and the Embassy, respecting which he has transferred to me his own delinquencies and those of his associate Philocrates. The transactions of those times, Athenians, it is necessary, and will be convenient, that you should recall to your recollection, in order to perceive how each of the matters in question really stands.

After the Phocian war broke out, not through me, for I had not then entered into public life, you were at first inclined to save the Phocians, although well aware of their misconduct, and to rejoice at the loss of the Thebans, with whom you were offended, and not unreasonably or unjustly, for they had not borne their good fortune

¹The very hyperbole of injustice' would be literal, and perhaps not inadmissible.

at Leuctra with moderation. Then the whole Peloponnesus was rent in divisions, and neither the enemies of the Spartans were powerful enough to overthrow them, nor were those who, through Spartan influence, had been formerly placed at the head of the peninsular cities, any longer in possession of them, but there prevailed, both among them and among the other Greek states, an unexplained¹ strife and perturbation. Philip, perceiving this, for it was not difficult to see, lavished his bribes among the traitors everywhere, and put all the states in collision and conflict with one another; then, as they all fell into a mistaken or a profligate policy, he took advantage of it, and grew in strength at their expense. But when it became evident that the Thebans, worn out with the

¹ ἔρις (*ἄκριτος*) καὶ παραχή, a finely-chosen expression to paint a confused, indistinct, surd discontent. Perhaps *παραχή* implies consternation also—people ill-disposed and angry, and not knowing why or how, like men quarrelling in the dark. Some render *ἄκριτος* by irreconcilable, interminable; but the real and natural meaning of the word is as here given. The description of Philip taking advantage of this is also fine: *συνέκρουε καὶ ἐτάραττε*—collided them, or mixed, or jumbled, or confounded them together; knocked their heads together; made them first come into collision, i.e. interfere with each other, and then quarrel. Our phrase is necessarily less expressive, because neuter instead of active verbs must be used.

length of the war, after all their insolence, must be under the necessity, in their present reverses, of flying to you for refuge, Philip, to prevent this, and obstruct the union of those states, proffered peace to you, succour to them. What, then, enabled him thus to overreach you, who were, I might almost say, wilfully deceiving yourselves? It must be admitted that the other Greek states, either from cowardice, or from infatuation¹, or both, would give no assistance, either in money or in men, or in any other way, to you who were carrying on a long and uninterrupted war for the common benefit of all, as the facts plainly showed; and you, not unfairly or unnaturally angry at this, lent a willing ear to Philip's offers. The peace, then, which you granted to him was the consequence of these circumstances, and not of my efforts, as Æschines has falsely alleged. But in the measures and corruptions of his party upon that occasion any one who fairly examines the matter will find the true cause of our present condition; and I am now weighing and sifting² this matter, with

¹ *ἄγνοια* is literally ignorance; but here it must be ignorance of their true interests; for the thing which sprang from it was refusing men and money

² *διέρχουμαι* is to go over or through, to pervade, to survey; *διεξέρχουμαι* must indicate the same process, more stringent—the closest survey—a sifting.

the desire only of coming at the truth. For whatever misconduct there may have been in the then transactions, it cannot in any way affect me. It was Aristodemus, the player, who first spoke of or broached the subject of peace ; and the person who took up the question and propounded a decree upon it, and exerted himself with Aristodemus to further it, was Philocrates the Agnusian, your accomplice, and not mine, Æschines, though you should deny it till you burst¹ ! Their supporters, from whatever motive (I pass over that for the present), were Eubulus and Cephisophus ; but never I in any manner of way.

Yet, this being the state of the case, and the truth of it being thus plainly demonstrated, to such a pitch of effrontery has he reached, that he has the audacity not only to lay the peace upon me, but to accuse me of preventing this

¹ The Greek is here more expressive than refined : *ἀν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος*, if e'en you lie till you burst. Such expressions remind us of the ancient character given of this great master—*λόγῃς τε καὶ καταπέλτας ἐσθίων*. (*Athen.*) We have vulgar phrases in Westminster Hall of a like kind : 'To swear through a brick wall'—'To swear till he is black in the face.' Dawson is so offended with the coarse expression that he thus changes it, contrary to all rule : 'Notwithstanding your most vehement and false assertions to the contrary.'

country from making common cause in the negotiation with the other Greek powers! But *you*,—by what name shall I address you to describe you aright?—when did *you* ever come forward at the moment to testify your indignation upon ~~seeing~~ me before your eyes wresting from the country ~~so~~ grand an opportunity for an alliance as that which ~~you~~ are now tragically declaiming about? Or when did *you* ever stand forth to denounce or to scrutinize all that you are now impeaching me for? Why, if I had, for the lucre of Philip's gold, deprived the country of the Greek alliance, it was your duty not to hold your peace, but to cry out upon me, and testify against me, and denounce me before this assembly. In no manner of way did you this, nor did mortal ear ever hear your voice to such a purpose¹. And well might you be silent²; for neither was there any embassy at that time sent to any of the Greek powers, though the dispositions of them all were very easy to see,

¹ This is quite literal, and it is fine and picturesque; but some translators wholly lose it. The Frenchman thus dilutes it away to nothing: '*Vous n'avez pas dit un mot.*'

² *εἰκότως*,—literally, likely— or truly; it is used to apply Æschines' silence the more closely to Δ's defence. Dawson and other translators omit it altogether.

nor have you even now advanced any sound statement upon the matter.

But, beside all this, he calumniates the country itself with his falsehoods still more than he does me¹. For if you, Athenians, at one and the same moment were exciting the Greeks to war and sending ambassadors to make peace with Philip, you were acting the part of Eurybates², and not acting either for the good of the state, or like politic men³. But that was not the fact; no, nor anything like it. What should you at that crisis call upon the Greek powers to do? To obtain peace? But they all had it already. To make war? But you were yourselves deliberating about peace. It is therefore demonstrated to be utterly untrue either that I was the original author of the peace, or in any way answerable for it, or for any of the other

¹ τὰ μέγιστα clearly institutes this comparison with what had been before (the χωρὶς τούτων) said of Δ personally, and it must be thus rendered without any periphrasis.

² A phrase used to signify the work or part of a traitor, from Eurybates of Ephesus, who betrayed his trust to Cyrus.

³ The literal meaning is here given of πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. But a modern ear would prefer the turn of 'You were neither seeking the good of the state nor the approval of politic men.'

things with which he has so falsely charged me. You must, then, consider what course each of us held after the country had made peace; because it is thus that you will be able to perceive who co-operated in all things with Philip, and who stood by you and sought only the good of the commonwealth.

I immediately obtained a Decree of the Senate, that without a moment's delay ambassadors should sail for those places where Philip was reported to be in order to receive his Ratification¹. But Æschines' party were not for doing this, even after my Decree had passed. What was its object? I will show you. It was Philip's interest that the interval between our Ratification and his should be as long as possible; yours, that it should be as short. Why so? Because you had laid aside all warlike preparations, not from the date of the Ratification, but from the time that you first had hopes of peace; while he, on the contrary, was laying his plans more than ever upon the supposition,—a well-grounded one—that whatever possessions of yours he should seize before swearing to the Ratification must

¹ Literally, oath; but the meaning is the swearing to observe the treaty, answering to ratification of what the negotiators had agreed upon.

all remain securely his own, as no one would be for breaking the peace on that account.

Foresceing this, Men of Athens, and reflecting upon it, I proposed the Decree that the ambassadors should make sail to wherever Philip might be, and take his oath of ratification with all expedition, in order that, while your allies the Thracians still held possession of the places which Æschines now affects to undervalue, Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergisca, he should execute his Ratification, and so be prevented from making himself master of Thrace by the acquisition of these important possessions, and from preparing for the execution of his other designs by raising there a great revenue and a great force. For this reason Æschines does not read my Decree, nor so much as mention it. Yet because I, in discharge of my senatorial duty, thought that ambassadors ought to have an audience, he inveighs against me. But what was I to do? Was I to refuse access to men who were come expressly for the purpose of addressing you, or to forbid the architect giving them a place as spectators? But 'had I not assigned them a place, they might have had it for twopence. I ought, it seems, to have made this small gain for the state and all the while sold to Philip,

as these men have done, our highest interests! No, no. Here, take and read the Decree which he, knowing its contents full well, has taken care to pass over.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the 13th of Hecatombæon, in the presidency of the tribe Pandion, on the proposition of Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian : Whereas Philip having sent ambassadors to treat of peace, hath duly concluded a treaty with the people of Athens ; now to the end that the same may be ratified as decreed in the former assembly, it hath pleased the Senate and People of the said state, that five ambassadors be chosen out of the whole people, and that these, being duly approved, be despatched without any delay whatever, to wheresoever it may be ascertained that Philip is, and that they do as speedily as may be exchange Oaths of Ratification with him touching the treaty between him and the said people concluded, the allies of both parties being duly comprehended therein. As such ambassadors are chosen—Eubulus, of the Anaphlystian ; Æschines, son of Adrimetes, of the Cothocidian ; Cephison, of the Rham-

nusian ; Democrates, of the Phlysian ; Cleon, of the Cothocidian¹.

When I had carried this Decree, consulting the interests of the country and not of Philip, these worthy ambassadors, little solicitous about their mission², set themselves down for three whole months in Macedon, until Philip returned from Thrace, after entirely subjugating the country, although they might easily in ten days—ay, in three or four, have gone to the Hellespont and saved Thrace by receiving his Ratification before he could take possession of it. For either he would not have touched that territory had we been there, or he would not have sworn to the peace, and thus would not have obtained it³, so that

¹ The formal and dry style of this document is to be noted ; so different from the ordinary Attic of the orations—a kind of statutory, or at least state-paper style. The distinction has not been maintained by translators.

² *χρηστοί* is plainly ironical here ; the word is ‘ useful,’ ‘ profitable,’ but ‘ worthy’ conveys its sense exceedingly well, and is often used ironically. *βραχὺ φροντίσαντες* has clearly the sense given in the text, though expressed somewhat elliptically.

³ This must plainly be the sense, especially if the negative *οὐκ* is to remain in its place, and the semicolon is to be placed after *αὐτόν*. But why the second *ἢ* ? This seems superfluous, and perhaps there should be another *ἢ* in the former limb of the sentence. The sense

he could not have had both, the peace and the possessions.

Such in this mission was the first fraud of Philip, but also the first corrupt act of these men, profligate and hateful to the Gods—a corruption for which ever since then, and now, and for ever, I declare against them hostility and attack that knows no repose¹! But you shall presently see another wickedness still greater than that. When Philip had sworn to the peace, having possessed himself of Thrace in consequence of those ambassadors disobeying my Decree, he bribed them not to leave Macedon until he had fully prepared his expedition against the Phocians, in order that you should not be apprised by them of his intention immediately to march, and so be enabled to sally forth and cut him off from all communication with Thermopylæ by surrounding it with your

is however clear, and the whole structure of the passage and rapidity of the argument is truly Demosthenean.

¹ πολεμῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι. Leland has it 'denounce perpetual war and opposition'; and he transposes the *θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν* unwarrantably. The 'opposition' is an anticlimax, and is not a correct translation. *διαφέρεισθαι* indicates a constant agitation—a restless enmity—hinc inde factor, is the accurate and common translation. Dawson's 'implacable enemy' is much better; but then he makes *πολεμῖν* 'opposition'; it is much stronger.

fleet¹ as you had done before; but that the intelligence through the ambassadors, and the accounts of his having entered Thermopylæ, might reach you together, and you should thus be unable to act at all. But although Philip had thus occupied the ground beforehand², he was in such alarm and anxiety³, lest upon hearing of his proceedings you should resolve to succour the Phocians before he had overthrown them, and so his scheme should fail, that he again bribed this wretch⁴, not in common with the other ambassadors, but by himself individually, to make you such a statement as proved the ruin of our affairs.

¹ Literally, sailing round Thermopylæ with your galleys should close the sea; but the sense is closely given in the text.

² καὶ ταῦτα προεληφότος αὐτοῦ. Literally, even having anticipated these things. The Greek is to anticipate or take beforehand. The Greeks never fell into such slip-slop as using *anticipate* for *expect*—almost as bad as *transpire* for *occur*.

³ φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ. The latter word is properly 'anxiety'—not so strong as 'consternation,' which would be θόρυβος, and which perhaps rather belongs to multitudes than individuals; and this probably is the strict and original meaning of our word itself. Leland makes φόβῳ 'apprehension,' and ἀγωνία, 'violence of terror'; Dawson, 'fearful and full of trouble.'

⁴ κατὰπτυστον, spit out—spit upon—but come to mean anything despicable.

But I call upon you, I conjure you, Men of Athens, throughout this cause to bear this ever in mind, that if Æschines had not gone into matter out of the four corners of the Charge, neither should I have said one word away from the subject. But when he has heaped together all manner of imputations and maledictions¹, it becomes necessary that I should shortly answer each of his accusations.

What then were those representations of his which brought on such ruinous consequences? That Philip's entering Thermopylæ ought to create no alarm; that if you would but remain quiet, all should be settled to your heart's content, and you should in two or three days find him turn out to be the enemy of those he had come to defend, the friend of those he had come to attack. 'For it was not words that strengthen alliances, he somewhat gravely² affirmed, but community of interests. But it was equally the interest of Philip, and the Phocians, and yourselves, to be relieved from the inaction and

¹ βλασφημίαις. Leland has recourse to the circumlocution 'every invective which malice could suggest.' Dawson's 'reproaches of all kinds' ill renders the sense.

² μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων. Never was translation less near the original than Dawson's here, 'smoothly glossing it.' The literal meaning is clear, 'rather gravely or pompously phrasing it.'

the importunity of the Thebans.' Some there were who lent a willing ear to all this, from that dislike of the Thebans which had insensibly gained upon us¹. What was the immediate consequence? Instantly, and not after any interval, the wretched Phocians were ruined, their cities razed to the ground, and you remaining inactive, and persuaded by Æschines' representations, were soon after removing your effects from the country for shelter², while he was receiving his hire; and moreover the Thebans and Thessalians turned their hostility against this country, giving their good will to Philip in return for his exploits. In proof of these things, read me the Decree of Callisthenes and the Letter of Philip, from both of which all I have said clearly appears.

¹ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θεβαίους. It may be rendered 'the lurking dislike;' but the text seems to give the meaning. Translators have almost all lost the meaning of ὑποῦσαν. Dawson, 'because we were at enmity with the Thebans.' Stock gives it better, '*clam insedit.*' Wolff's '*intercedentes*' is quite wrong. Leland unaccountably leaves out the whole sentence.

² σκευαγωγεῖν, to pack up baggage; but ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν shows the meaning more precisely. Leland uses, however, far too much circumlocution. He expresses these few words by this unpardonable periphrasis—'to leave your fields desolate and collect your property within these walls.'

DECREE.

In the archonship of Mnesiphilus an extraordinary assembly being convened by the Strategi, with consent of the Prytanes and Senate, on the 2nd of Mæmacterion, on the report of Callisthenes, the son of Eteonicus of Phalaris : Resolved, that no Athenian shall on any pretence whatever pass the night in the country, but only in the citadel or the port, save and except such as are stationed at any posts, each of whom shall keep the station assigned to him, and not absent himself by day or by night. Whosoever disobeys this decree shall suffer the punishment of traitors, unless he proves that he lay under some incapacity to obey, of which incapacity the General on duty, the Treasurer, and the Secretary of the Senate are to judge. All effects shall be removed from the country as speedily as possible ; those which are within 120 stadia, to the citadel and port ; those beyond that distance, to Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnes, and Sunium. Proposed by Callisthenes of Phalerea.

Was it in the expectation of this that you made peace? Or were these the prospects held out by this hireling? But read the Letter which Philip immediately after sent.

LETTER OF PHILIP.

Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, greeting. Know ye that we have entered Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis into our possession. In those towns which voluntarily surrendered we have placed garrisons; those which held out we have taken by force and razed to the ground, leading the inhabitants captive. But hearing that you were preparing to succour them, I have written you these presents, to the end that you may give yourselves no further trouble in this matter. For, in fine, it does not appear to me reasonable that, after concluding a peace, you should notwithstanding take the field, and this although the Phocians were not comprehended in the treaty between us. If, therefore, you do not abide by your engagements, you will only get before me by being the first wrong-doers¹.

¹ The style of this letter is perfect, and gives the highest idea of Philip's capacity for composition. Pride—haughty, insolent, pride, yet such as to quell, not to irritate, is its characteristic. The style too is dignified and sustained throughout. The transition from the royal *we*, to the more individual *I*, is admirably made. The turn at the end is inimitable. The conciseness is such from beginning to end, that no fewer words could have been employed to convey the same ideas; and the choice of those few is as happy as their compression is remarkable.

Hear how distinctly he declares and explains himself in this letter addressed to yourselves, addressed to his allies¹. 'These things I have done,' says he, 'in despite of the Athenians and their remonstrances; and if you Thebans and Thessalians be wise, you will reckon them your enemies and put your trust in me.' If these are not his very words, this is clearly his meaning. With such speeches he so captivated them, that they neither made any preparations nor foresaw any danger, but suffered him to take possession of every place; and hence have proceeded all the calamities under which the wretched Thebans are now suffering. And his coadjutor, his fellow-labourer in gaining this confidence, the man who is still making you false reports, still deluding you—this is the man who now bewails² the

¹ *πρός* repeated to *ὑμᾶς* and to *συμμάχους* also is eminently argumentative, and is ill rendered by the literal and unemphatic '*to*.' The text inserting '*addressed*,' seems much better to give the sense.

² This fine passage is worthy of all attention. The hypocritical lamentations of Æschines over his own handywork is the subject, and there is not a word picturesquely describing woe, real woe, that Demosthenes does not use in referring to his adversary's affected sympathy for those who were suffering under the effects of his own actions—*ὀδυρόμενος*, weeping or wailing. Stock has '*luget*;' Wolff, '*lamentetur*;' Francis, '*lament*;' Dawson, the same; Leland has '*affects deep concern*,'

sufferings of the Thebans, and dwells on their wretchedness, he being himself the cause of it all, and of the fate of the Phocians, and of all the other sufferings of all the Greeks! You, forsooth, you Æschines, must needs sorrow for those disasters, and compassionate the Thebans, when you are yourself in possession of their lands in Bœotia and actually farming them! and I must be supposed to rejoice at their suffering, I, whose head the author of all these wrongs demanded¹! But I have fallen into topics which will be more in place hereafter. I now return to the proof that the corruption and profligacy

All these are clearly below the mark (Leland, besides, having '*affects*' contrary to the plain text); they do not come up to ὀδυρόμενος. Then we have οἰκτρί from οἶκτος, which almost means 'howling;' a single word can hardly render it without appearing exaggerated, for 'agonies' applies too much to pain. Wolff has '*miserabilia*;' Francis, 'distresses;' but then he adds 'sadly' gratuitously to διεξιῶν, though that word means only enumeration or exposition, and applies to joys as well as sorrows. ἀλγεῖς, 'sorrow for, as if it were your own;' Wolff, '*aggre fers*;' Francis, 'are miserably affected;' Dawson, 'are sorry for.' ἐλεεῖς, commiserate—ask for pity—also a strong word, and rendered by Wolff '*vicem doles*,' about as feeble a word as the Latin affords; Francis, 'sincerely weep over.'

¹ ἐξητούμην, simply 'was demanded,' will not express the meaning; for in those days demanding a person implied imprisonment or death.

of these men was the cause of our present condition.

When you were circumvented by Philip through those hirelings of his whom you had sent as ambassadors, and who never made you any true report, and when the miserable Phocians were also circumvented, and had their cities razed to the ground, what followed? The despicable Thessalians and the senseless Thebans looked upon Philip as their friend, benefactor, saviour; he was all in all with them: if any one thought of saying anything to the contrary, not a word would they hear. You, on the other hand, though these transactions awakened your suspicions, and caused some impatience, still kept the peace (nor indeed could you help it, standing single as you did); and the other Greeks, as well as you, cheated and deluded in their hopes, strictly observed the peace, though already in some sort attacked by Philip. For when he was striding all around¹, subduing the

¹ *περιιών*, an impressive word, rendered well by the Latin '*grassans*,' to which our language has no very sufficient parallel. Francis has it feebly, 'extending his conquests on every side.' Dawson's 'ranging up and down' is far better. Leland's 'in the circuit of his expedition' reduces it to prose, and to a mere topographical point. The French '*dans ses courses*' gets rid of it completely.

Illyrians and Triballians, and even some of the Greek states; when he was acquiring large accessions to his power; and when some persons under cover¹ of the peace were proceeding from different cities on a visit to be corrupted by him, Æschines among the rest; then I maintain that all the powers against whom he was making such preparations were actually attacked. If they did not themselves perceive it, that is another thing, and no concern of mine, for I foretold it, and testified to it both here to you, and wherever else I was sent as ambassador. But all the states were infatuated, and while the ministers and magistrates of some were corrupted and bought with a price, in others neither individuals nor the people showed any provident circumspection, but all were taken with the ephemeral bait of indolence and ease, and all the states became so stricken with infatuation as to believe that nothing could befall themselves, but that they could work out their own safety by other people's perils². It thus came to pass, as

¹ ἐξουσία is left out by Dawson, who only says 'on the peace.' Leland's, 'served the opportunity,' renders it partly. Possibly 'under cover' is more than the phrase means, which yet seems to imply something more than merely 'taking advantage.'

² Leland gives the sense generally, but loses the point of the expression when he says 'that each community

I conceive, that the people lost their independence through extreme and inopportune sloth, while the leading men, and they who designed to sell everything but themselves, were found to have sold themselves first of all. Instead of friends and guests, names which they prostituted for lucre of gain, they must now be content to hear themselves called parasites, persons accurst, and whatever else fits them best. And justly ¹! For no one, Athenians, when he bribes ever looks to the benefit of the traitor; nor, when once possessed of the bribeworthy service, do we ever after trust the traitor. If we did, nothing could be more fortunate than the traitor's posi-

conceived themselves exempted from the common calamity, nay, that they could derive their own security from the public danger.' The text is quite literal, and it preserves the point of the original, without the least deviation from English idiom. Dawson makes it 'particular persons' instead of states, which is wrong; and he makes their plan be to secure their own wealth, which is still more erroneous. He had just before entirely missed the sense of *ῥαστώνη*, as if it was that men were 'drowned in luxury,' which is altogether wrong, beside being a bad metaphor.

¹ This passage is one of Δ's finest bursts; rapid, overpowering, full of matter—in one part every line has an allusion to some known passage of recent history—the words chosen are of extreme force, and connected with such skill that the torrent, while it roars and rages and dashes, is unbroken and clear.

tion. But it is not so by any means. How should it be? It is quite the reverse. No sooner has an ambitious usurper accomplished his purpose than he becomes master of those who have sold their country; and, thoroughly acquainted with their villany, he detests them, and distrusts them, and loads¹ them with insults. For, observe—if the events themselves are past and gone by, yet the opportunity of reflecting upon them is ever present to the wise. Time was that Philip called Lasthenes his friend until he had betrayed Olynthus; time was that he thus termed Timolaus, till he had overthrown Thebes; and Eudicus and Simus, of Larissa, until they had surrendered Thessaly to his arms. Then, when they were chased away, and covered with indignities, and there was no maltreatment that they had not to endure, the whole habitable world² was filled with traitors. How fared Aristratus in Sicyon? How Perilaus at Megara? Are they not doomed to utter execration³? From whence any one may clearly perceive

¹ *προπηλακίζει* is worse than insults—covers them with dirt literally. Wolff's '*inveclatur*' is clearly insufficient.

² It is hard to conceive why all translators should drop the *οικουμένη*, and give only 'world.' Leland, indeed, makes it only apply to the nation.

³ *ἀπερριμμένοι*, damned *missi in malam rem*, literally—a word of extreme force; *abjecti*, says Wolff; Francis,

that whoso most stoutly defends his country, and most vehemently resists such men as those, supplies to you traitors and mercenaries, Æschines, the means of being bribed ; and it is because such patriots are numerous and oppose your councils, that you can receive your hire in safety ; for as far as depended on yourselves you must long since have perished ¹.

And now, although I have much more to say touching these transactions, yet I rather think I have dwelt too long upon them. But he is to blame for it; his having poured out in our faces the crapulous remains ² of his own profligacy

‘most abject and despised ;’ Dawson, ‘despised and sent into the lowest degree of contempt ;’ Leland, ‘in abject infamy.’ But multiplying weak words does not make a strong impression ; besides, these words all refer to estimation, whereas Δ says they were damned were under the infliction of a curse. Perhaps ‘doomed to execration’ comes as near the original as we can well go. ‘Abominated,’ ‘execrated,’ will hardly do ; it means that they have had sentence, and the sentence has been executed.

¹ ἀπωλώλετε may possibly mean ‘would have lost your trade ;’ but σῶσις is there as well as ἔμισθοι. Dawson however renders this single word ‘you must have been laid aside and your employment abolished.’ With ἀπερριμμένοι he had some kind of excuse for such prolixity ; here none at all.

² ἐωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας—not merely ‘pouring out ;’ for σκεδάσας would mean that ; but pouring out against us

and crimes, made it indispensably necessary that I should justify myself in the eyes of persons who have been born since those transactions.

—in our faces—like a pipe or a jet playing on us. *ἑωλοκρασία* is the cup of last night's debauch. What right has Stock to translate *κατασκεδάσας*, 'evomuit'? Had not Δ Greek enough to have said *ἐξήμεσας*, if he had chose so strong, too strong, a figure? His '*hesternam crapulam*' is not so bad. Wolff '*effuderit*.' Francis is worse than usual here—'pouring out like a drunkard the excess of last night's wine, the filthiness of his malevolence and villainy;' the first part of which is a mere description of the meaning, not a version of the words; and the latter quite gratuitous in one of the words, filthiness; and in the other, malevolence, does not even resemble the sense of *πονηρία*. Dawson is here far better, though not close, 'defiled me with his sottish ribaldry.' What follows is admirable as a figure grafted on that of Δ, 'hath obliged me to wipe off his base and wicked aspersions;' though he puts the 'base and wicked aspersions' in the wrong place. Leland also uses the same figure—but it is, according to the French critics' bitter remark, 'wit lent to Δ;' for all that he says is 'to acquit myself of them thus.' The word is *ἀπολύσασθαι*, not *ἀπολούσασθαι*. Possibly the translators have all read it with the *ο*, though I can find no such reading in any text. Francis has 'purify' and Wolff '*eluere*.' There seems even some reason to doubt if *ἑωλοκρασία* bears the sense on which these versions all proceed, of vomiting. The scholiast explains it by referring to the custom of pouring on the head of a debauchee, who had fallen asleep. the wine left in last night's cup—a somewhat odd figure doubtless for Δ to apply to himself or his audience; for it is upon them that Æschines is said to pour out his abuse.

Perhaps, however, you are fatigued with the subject, as before I had spoken a word, you were aware of his mercenary conduct. That, indeed, he terms friendship and hospitality ; and in one part of his speech he described me as having considered Alexander's hospitality a shame. I speak of Alexander's hospitality to you! Whence did you derive it, or how earn it? Nor Philip's guest, nor Alexander's friend should I ever think of calling you ; I am not so senseless ; unless indeed we are to call reapers and others who work for hire the friends and guests of those who pay them wages. But it is not so ; nothing of the kind¹! Why should it be? Quite the reverse. But I and all here present call you the hireling, formerly of Philip, now of Alexander. If you doubt it, ask them. But I had rather do that for you. Men of Athens! whether do you consider Æschines as the hireling, or the guest of Alexander?—Do you hear what they say?—I now then proceed to answer this charge, and to explain my conduct, in order that Æschines, though he is well aware of the whole, may also hear my own statement of my just title both to the honours

¹ Where did Dawson get the 'Flatter not thyself so much,' wherewith he has here accommodated Δ?

decreed, and to far greater than these. Read me then, the Impeachment itself¹.

IMPEACHMENT.

In the archonship of Chærondas, on the 6th of Elaphebolion, Æschines, the son of Atrometus, of the Cothocidian, brought before the archon, Ctesiphon, the son of Leosthenes, of the Anaplystian, for the offence of proposing an illegal² decree, to wit, that Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian, should be crowned with a golden crown, and that it should be proclaimed in the theatre, while the new greater Dionysian tragedians acted, that the people crowned Demosthenes the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian, on account of his merits, and of his devotion to the service, as well of the whole Greek states as of the Athenian people, and on account of his magnanimity in consulting at all times, both by word

¹ λέγε γραφήν, λαβών. This is the constant idiom; as if we should say, 'Take and read me the Impeachment.'

² παρὰ νόμον is undoubtedly illegal, but it seems more properly unconstitutional; as any decree made by the competent authority must be lawful, and the proposer of it only called on that authority to make what he propounded a law. But a law may be unconstitutional even though formally made—that is, it may be repugnant to the general spirit of the laws.

and deed, the best interests of the said people, and in zealously promoting the same to the utmost of his power :—All which propositions were false and contrary to the laws ; seeing that first the laws do not permit what is false to be propounded on the face of the public records, and next that they do not permit a public accountant to be crowned. But Demosthenes is a conservator of the walls, and has charge of the theatrical fund. Moreover, the crown ought not to be proclaimed in the theatre by the new tragedians, but in the senate-house, if he is to be crowned by the senate ; at the Pnyx in full assembly, if by the people. Fine, 50 talents. Witnesses to the citation, Cephisophon, the son of Cephisophon of the Rhamnusian, Cleon, the son of Cleon, of the Cothocidian.

Such, Athenians, are the grounds of his attack upon the Decree of Ctesiphon. But I shall first of all make it plain to you from the Charge itself, that I am about to urge an honest defence. For I shall pursue the very order of what is stated in the Impeachment ; and I shall speak to each article separately, not passing over any one thing knowingly. Touching the recital in the Decree, that I uniformly have consulted in word and deed the good of the people, and zealously endeavoured to further their interests

to the best of my ability, upon which the panegyric is founded¹, I take it that the truth of this must be tried by a review of my public conduct. For it is only by an examination of this that you can ascertain whether Ctesiphon's statements respecting me are true and just, or false. But as to his not inserting in the Decree a proviso that I should only be crowned after rendering my accounts; and as to the directions that the coronation should take place in the theatre, I conceive that this belongs to the question of my public conduct, whether I deserve to be crowned and proclaimed in public, ay or no. Nevertheless, it appears right that I should refer to the laws which sanction the Decree in these respects.

It is thus, men of Athens, that I am resolved, honestly and frankly, to conduct my defence. I begin with the policy which I have pursued;

¹ Though the passage is of no remarkable importance, yet its version by Leland shows how careless of the original that great translator (by far the best of Δ's) often is, and how paraphrastical. He puts it thus: 'As to the clause of that steady zeal in speaking and acting for the interest of this state, which I have ever discovered and still discover upon every occasion to the utmost of my power, and the honours appointed to me on this account.' This is really a paraphrase of 'and still discover.' *ἐπινοεῖν* may mean 'decreeing honours,' but is literally 'eulogise.'

and let no one imagine that I am digressing from the Charge, if I refer to my measures and my speeches upon the affairs of Greece¹. For he who accuses the Decree of stating that my counsels and my measures were the best, and who charges this as a false statement—he it is that has rendered it both fitting and necessary for me to enter upon the whole subject of my policy and conduct. Now, there being many departments of the public service², I devoted myself to that of the Greek affairs. Therefore it is but just that I should draw my evidence from this department.

Those possessions³, then, which Philip seized

¹ The extreme importance to Δ's case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by which he availed himself of Æschines' error, and at once entered on the general subject of his whole administration, thus escaping the immediate charge, to which he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, required that he should again and again defend this movement, which he here does very carefully.

² This is the literal meaning of πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας, which Dawson renders unaccountably, 'the many and various methods of policy used in the world.' Δ clearly is speaking of Athens alone, and its public business or policy.

³ Francis's 'conquests and usurpations' is well enough, only that προλαβεῖν is to seize or take, and κατασχεῖν, to keep, while usurpation is λαβεῖν as much 'as conquest.

and kept, before I entered into public life, before I began to debate, I say nothing of ; for I do not consider them as concerning me at all. But those which ever since I came forward he has been prevented from seizing upon, of them I shall remind you, and shall render my account by a single observation. A prospect of great advantage opened to Philip. In the Greek states, not one or two, but all, there shot up a crop¹ of traitors, mercenary and abandoned, men hateful to the gods, such as no one's memory served him to recollect at any former period of time. Engaging these supporters and fellow-labourers, Philip seduced the Greeks, already ill disposed and seditiously inclined, to a worse disposition, deceiving some, bribing others, corrupting the rest in every way, and split into many factions those who ought to have had all one only common interest, that of preventing his aggrandisement. But in this state of things, and in the prevailing ignorance of all the Greeks as to the mischief which really existed and was

Dawson has 'acquisitions and usurpations;' Leland 'conquests and acquisitions,' which is the worst of the three. Wolff, 'occupavit atque obtinuit.'

¹ *φορά* means a crop or revenue among other things, as a supply. Leland has 'provision;' Dawson, 'a vast number.' Wolff, rightly, 'Leges.'

growing apace¹, your duty, Athenians, is to examine what course it was expedient for the country to choose and pursue, while you call me to account for what was done. For the man who then assumed the conduct of affairs, that man am I.

Was it fitting, Æschines, that this country should bring down her great spirit so worthy of herself, join Thessalians and Dolopians, help Philip in his designs upon the mastery of all Greece, and abandon all the glories and all the rights of our forefathers? Or, if she took not this part, (which assuredly it would have been monstrous to take,) was she to overlook those things when they actually came to pass, which she had descried when they were about to happen if no one interposed, ay, and had foreseen to all appearance for a long time before²?

¹ Some have given *φυσόμενον*, creeping on; but if Δ had intended such a figure, *ἐρπίζοντος* was at his command. In fact, creeping does not apply to an evil already near, but on the increase.

² Nothing can be more paraphractical, and indeed diffuse, than Leland is in this somewhat difficult passage, which is given literally in the text. For *περιειδὲν γιγνόμενα* is here not to look around, and as it were see pass before her eyes, but to overlook or neglect the coming to pass of the things. Δ only says that the country had seen the events about to happen (*ἰώρα συμβησόμενα*), and had been aware of them for a long while (*προησθάνετο ἐκ πολλοῦ*).

But I would now fain ask whosoever most blames our policy, what part he would rather the country had taken ; that of those who have contributed so largely to the disasters and disgraces which have befallen Greece, among whom may be reckoned the Thessalians and their associates—or the part of those who suffered¹ all that happened, in the hope of working their own individual aggrandisement, among whom may be classed the Arcadians, Argives, and Messenians? But many, or rather all of them, have fared worse than ourselves ; and indeed had Philip, as

Leland will needs have it ‘who had foreseen, who seemed perfectly convinced of the consequences which must arise,’ and then ‘to have proved indifferent spectators when these consequences had really arisen.’ The translation in the text gives the point by distinguishing the *συμβησόμενα* from *γυγνόμενα* ; but our language, from its want of flexion and declension, and concord, is extremely deficient in powers of collocation, wherever the Latin, but still more the Greek (which has our resource of articles beside its own resources), can place the substantive and the verb in the most felicitous arrangement. In the present instance the collocation should be the reverse of what we are compelled, without repetition and interpolation, to adopt.

¹ *περιορακίας* here is ‘having, or which has, neglected ;’ like *περιεθεῖν* in the last note. Why Stock has ‘passa est et neglexit’ is not easily understood. One is enough, and ‘suffered’ gives the sense. Leland might have rendered it by ‘were indifferent ;’ but he had no right to put ‘affected an indifference.’

soon as his object was attained, gone straight-way home, and remained thenceforward at peace, offering no kind of injury either to his allies or to the other Greek states, still they who had done nothing to resist his aggressions, would have been exposed to complaint and to blame. But if he stripped all alike of their dignity, their sovereignty, their freedom, nay, of their form of government, whenever he had the power, did you not follow the most glorious of all counsels, when you listened to me? I come back to this point¹. What ought the

¹ The passage that here follows is among the very finest in all Δ. The heavy fire of indignant invective is kept up throughout, only limited by the desire to avoid any too personal offence to an audience as vain as supine, and as impatient of censures as it was deserving of them. The rapidity of the declamation is striking in the highest degree; the number of topics crowded into a few words, (pages 74 and 75 especially) and the absolute perfection of their choice, is not to be surpassed. We are left at a loss to determine whether the substance or the diction should be preferred. Nothing too can be more natural than the introduction of this burst, nothing more closely bearing upon the argument. In modern eloquence passages of this very kind are never failing in success. The picture of Philip is truly fine; and it is both striking and figurative, especially the *ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ ζῆν*. The appeal to the Athenians, and the contrast drawn between them and the natives of a mean town, in respect of magnanimity, cannot be too much admired. In our Parliament, pages 74 and 75 could

country to have done, Æschines, when it saw Philip preparing to assume the dominion and sovereignty of all Greece? Or what was I to urge or to propound in the councils of Athens? (for the place is very material) I, who knew that from all time up to the very day when I first mounted the rostrum, my country had ever struggled for supremacy, and honour, and glory, and had lavished more blood and more treasure for her own renown and the interests of all

not have been easily delivered for the bursts of cheering they would have occasioned. I find Lord Wellesley prefers this to almost all the other passages in Δ.—It is such things as this that haunt the student of eloquence, and will not quit his mind by day or by night, in the solitary walk, or in the senate and the forum, filling him at once with envy and admiration, with an irrepressible desire to follow in such footsteps, and with absolute despair at the distance of his own.

The translators have not much distinguished themselves here, where they were bound to make every exertion; Leland makes Philip 'dislocate his neck' (which is fatal); Stock, '*jugulo fracto*,' which is as bad; instead of 'fracture his collar-bone,' which is easy and safe (κλείν κατεγότα). Leland adds a verb to χείρα, and makes it 'pierced;' he converts, moreover, the hand into the arm; and he renders the conclusion of the noble description, the finest part, indeed the very point of the whole, 'that he might enjoy the rest with renown,' instead of 'that he might live with the rest to,' &c.; or 'that the rest might survive to renown,' &c. Dawson is closer, though 'withered' is not πεπηρωμένον.

Greece, than any other state had ever risked for its individual benefit—I, who saw that very Philip, with whom our conflict for command and for sovereignty was maintained, have his eye torn out, his collar-bone fractured, his hand and his leg mutilated, abandoning to Fortune whatever part of his body she chose to take, so that the rest might survive to honour and to glory? Yet even then no one would have dared say that in a man bred at an obscure and paltry town like Pella, such magnanimity could be engendered as to make him entertain the desire of subjugating Greece, or form in his mind such a plan, while in you, who are of Athens, and day by day contemplate the achievements of your ancestors in speeches and in spectacles¹, such pooriness of spirit could be bred, that willingly and of your own accord you should surrender to him the liberties of Greece. That is what no one would have dared to say².

¹ How Francis got 'contracted in your earliest education' seems incomprehensible : *θεωρήμασι* means 'school discipline' certainly ; but here we have *καὶ λόγοις* joined with it, as well as *καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν*, which clearly gives the other meaning of the word. The Oxford translators have fallen into Francis's error.

² Leland's 'Let not the presumptuous assertion be once heard' is as unlike *οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσῃ* as may be ;

It remains then to confess as a necessary consequence, that whatever be attempted of injury against you, you might justly resist. This, therefore, you did from the first, naturally and properly. This I advised and propounded all the time I was in public life. I admit it. But what ought I to have done?—that I earnestly demand of you. Pass over everything else, Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Halonesus—I say nothing about them; Serrium, Doriscus, the devastation of Peparethus, and all the other wrongs of the same kind which have been done this country—I do not even know of their existence; and yet you, Æschines, charge me with having raised those enemies against the country, though the decrees were passed by Eubulus, and Aristophon, and Diopceithes, not by me, thou man ready to assert whatever suits thy purpose¹!—I will for the present say no-

though very possibly Δ might have used such a turgid phrase had it struck him—and had his taste been the same with his translator's.

¹ This stirring apostrophe to Æschines is by Francis reduced to a parenthesis—‘as you can indeed very dexterously assert whatever you think proper.’ Dawson weakens it by paraphrase, and alters it by mistranslation, and omits the apostrophe, ‘so ready art thou to speak thy own sentiments whether right or wrong.’ It is not speaking his own sentiments, but stating falsehoods, that

thing on these subjects. But he who seizes on Eubœa, and rears a fortress over against Attica, and lays his hands on Megara¹, and occupies Oreum, and destroys Porthmus, and establishes Philistides as tyrant of Oreum and Clitarchus of Eretria, and takes possession of the Hellespont, and besieges Byzantium, and razes to the ground some of the Greek cities while he sends back their exiles² to others—is he, I demand, who does all this a wrong-doer, a breaker of treaties, a disturber of the peace, or is he not? Was it incumbent on some Greek state to stand forward and resent all this, or was it not? For if not, and if Greece must be made what we proverbially call a Mysian prey³, while the Athe-

forms the charge of Δ in this passage. Leland has it, 'No, thou prompt slanderer,' which is better, but not close enough.

¹ ἐπιχειρῶν is not 'meditating an expedition against' (Francis) but 'laying hands upon.' Nor is κατασκαπτῶν 'dismantling,' (ibid.) but 'digging up the very foundations'—'razing to the ground;' Dawson, 'levelled to the ground;' Wolff, 'effodit;' Leland, 'razed.' This whole passage is wonderfully fine.

² φυγάδας. Why Dawson must add 'traitors' I know not. He makes him 'fill' the cities with the exiles instead of 'drive them back.'

³ λείαν Μυσῶν. The weakness of the Mysians was proverbial, and many stories, jests, and songs turned on it. Hence this means a 'by-word.' But Dawson must add,

nians yet had life and being, assuredly I was undertaking a bootless task in making these statements, and the country was doing a bootless thing in listening to my counsels—and then let all the faults committed and all the errors be mine! But, if some one was required to oppose Philip, who, save the people of Athens, could be found fit for the task? Such then was my course of policy; and seeing that he threatened the freedom of all mankind, I opposed him, and persevered in foretelling and in forewarning you against yielding to him.

And he it was, Æschines, who broke the peace by the capture of our ships, not this country. Produce the Decrees and his Letter, and read these documents in their order. For by attending to them, it will appear clearly to whom each event must be ascribed.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Neocles, in the month of Boedromion, at an Extraordinary Assembly convened by the Strategist. On the report of

‘and timidly resign herself a prey to the first invader.’ He adds a whole figure to the ζώντων καὶ ὄντων, about ‘waving banners at his head.

Eubulus, the son of Mnestheus, of Cyprus : Whereas Leodamus, the admiral, and twenty vessels under his convoy, despatched to the Hellespont for the importation of corn, have been carried into Macedon by Amyntas, an officer in Philip's service, and by him detained ; it is resolved, that the Prytanes and Strategi take charge of calling together the senate and naming ambassadors to Philip, which ambassadors shall on their arrival deal with him for the release of the admiral, the vessels, and the troops ; and if Amyntas hath acted through ignorance, then that the People of Athens make no complaint of him ; if the party detained has exceeded his instructions, that the People of Athens, upon proof thereof, will punish him according to the nature of his fault ; but if neither of these things be the case, and either he who was sent upon this service or he who sent him hath clandestinely broken faith¹, then that Philip be asked to write² to the People upon the matter,

¹ *ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν*, is thus read by commentators ; but how could taking a fleet be a secret operation ? If *ἰδίᾳ* could be rendered 'on their own part,' the sense would be plain.

² *τοῦτο γράψαι λέγειν*. It seems Philip that was to write ; and so all translators have it except Francis, who makes it the ambassadors, and Wolff, who has '*id indicandum*,' altering the *λέγειν* to *δεῖν*.

in order to their taking into their consideration what shall be done¹.

Now it was not I, but Eubulus, who proposed this Decree. The next was Aristophus'; then came Hegesippus's; then Aristophus' again; then Philocrates'; then Cephisophon's; then all the rest: I had no concern with them. Read Aristophus' Decree.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Neocles, the last day of Boedromion by the advice of the Senate, the Prytanes and Strategi reported what had passed in the Assembly, to wit, that the People resolved to send ambassadors to Philip touching the release of the vessels, and to communicate the instructions and the Decrees of the Assembly. There were chosen as ambassadors Cephisophon, &c. In the Presidency of the tribe Hippothoontes, on the proposition of Aristophon of Colyttus.

¹ Anything less like the style of Philip's letter than this most tame and spiritless production can hardly be conceived. Yet Δ disowns it, not for its want of spirit, but to avoid being made responsible for so rash an act. In truth we see throughout the whole of the contest with Philip the consciousness on the one side of weakness and on the other of strength. All Δ's spirit and patriotism are quelled at every turn by this essential ingredient in his case.

As, therefore, I produce these Decrees, do you also, Æschines, show some Decree of mine whereby I brought about the war. But you have none to show ; for if you had, nothing else would you have brought forward in preference to that. And indeed even Philip does not in any way lay the war to my charge ; for he accuses others. But now read his own Letter.

LETTER.

Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, greeting. The ambassadors from you, Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycritus, have repaired to me, and treated¹ of the release of the vessels under Lodomus's command. I consider you extremely simple if you suppose that the real destination of those vessels to succour the Selymbrians, besieged by me, and not comprehended in the subsisting treaties between us, could have been concealed from me, albeit their pretended object was the exportation of grain from the Hellespont to Lemnos. Moreover,

¹ Francis renders *διελέγοντο*, 'remonstrated concerning the dismissal of the ships,' which is as if the remonstrance was *against* that dismissal. If 'remonstrate' be used, it must be *for* 'the dismissal ;' but the word is only to discuss or treat of.

those orders were given to the admiral, unknown to the Athenian people, by certain magistrates, and others who are now retired from office¹, but who at all times are desirous to plunge the people into a war contrary to the relations of amity prevailing between us, and are much more anxious to end that amity than to succour the Selymbrians; and from this course they expect to profit; but I do not deem it likely to benefit either you or me. Wherefore I send back those vessels which have been brought into our ports; and henceforth if you will not follow leaders who give you evil counsel, but visit them with punishment, I too

¹ ἰδιωτῶν νῦν ὄντων, 'now being in private stations,' is as plain a phrase as plain can be; yet Dawson must have 'now retired from business and living privately;' as if it confirmed a thing to say it twice over. Leland, however, reverses the sense, and has, without any meaning, as without any warrant, 'others, in no private station.' The whole of Leland's translation of this fine piece (the Letter) is loose and paraphrastical: ἀντὶ ὑπαρχούσης φιλίας he makes 'violate their engagements;' τοιοῦτον he calls 'such a rupture.' Philip simply says, 'I don't think this will profit either you or me.' Leland makes him say, 'Persuaded as I am that our mutual interests require us to frustrate such wicked schemes'—a most violent addition. ἐπιτιμᾶτε he renders 'let them feel the severity of your justice.' This is really not the way to translate either Δ or Philip.

shall do my endeavour to maintain the peace.
Fare ye well ¹!

In this letter he nowise alludes to Demosthenes, nor makes any complaint against me. Wherefore, then, when accusing others, does he make no mention of my proceedings? Because, had he spoken of me, he must have commemorated his own wrong-doings. To these I had stuck, to these opposed myself. First I obtained by Decree an embassy to Peloponnesus, the moment he was seen creeping up ² towards Peloponnesus—then another to Eubœa, when he threatened Eubœa—then an expedition to Oreum, not a mission—and another to Eretria, when he planted tyrants in those cities. Afterwards I sent all the naval armaments by which the Chersonese, and Byzantium, and all our allies were saved. From all these measures were derived to you the noblest results—eulogies—glories—honours—crowns—the gratitude of those whom you saved—while they whom Philip

¹ The style, for dignity and expression, of this letter is equal to the policy which dictated it. The Athenians appear to little advantage in the contrast with this great though ambitious and unscrupulous prince. Even Δ adopts a low if not a whining tone in comparison.

² *παράδύω* is something more than *ἐρπίζω*, which is crawling like a serpent. It is from *δύω*, to come up; *παράδύω* is, to creep up to a level.

had maltreated¹, if they followed your counsels, secured their own salvation; if they neglected your repeated warnings, had the persuasion that you not only had their interests at heart, but were sagacious and prophetic men; for everything came to pass as you had foretold.

And now that Philistides would have given a great deal² to keep Oreum, and Clitarchus a great deal to keep Eretria, and Philip himself a great deal to retain those advanced posts against you, and not to be charged with all those other outrages, nor be called to account for the wrongs he was everywhere perpetrating, no one is ignorant, and you, Æschines, least of all men. For the ambassadors who came to us from Clitarchus and Philistides lived at your house and you did the honours³ of the city to them. The

¹ ἀδικουμένων. Leland unaccountably renders this 'those who had injured us,' whereas it is passive; and the next clause shows the impossibility of his version, for Δ speaks of one class of the ἀδικουμένοι as having followed the Athenian councils. Dawson is right here—'these oppressed people.'

² The repetition of the phrase πολλά χρήματα and its simplicity is striking. In our orations the figure would be quite admissible, and is often used with effect. Then the emphasis is laid on 'great,' and sometimes 'very' is introduced by way of climax.

³ πρόξενοι—were those appointed to do the honours or exercise the public hospitality to strangers of note; as

state, indeed, sent them away as enemies, and as urging what was neither honourable nor becoming; yet they were your friends. Thus none of all you have stated is true¹, thou reviler, who can yet charge me with keeping silence when I take a bribe, and bawling out when I have spent it. That, indeed, is not your way; you both bellow when you have got your bribe, and will never cease to bellow until this assembly shall stop your mouth this day by stamping you with infamy.

When, therefore, for these services you crowned me, and when Aristonicus framed the Decree in the very syllables² now employed by Ctesiphon; when the coronation was announced

in 1814, persons of distinction were appointed to attend foreign princes visiting this country, and more recently when the Sandwich Island chiefs and Russian princes visited us.

¹ The great distance between this and the antecedent to which it refers, makes me strongly incline to think that the real meaning of οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν is 'None of these suggestions were followed;' the last antecedent being οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα. All the translators, however, choose the other sense, going back a page or two for an antecedent, contrary to all likelihood.

² συλλαβάς—we rather say 'the very words' or 'letters' than syllables.

in the theatre, and a second proclamation thus fell to my share; Æschines, who was present, neither opposed it nor impeached the author of the proceeding. Read me then that Decree.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Charondas, the 25th of Gamelion, in the presidency of the Leontian, on the proposition of Aristonicus of Phreara: Whereas Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian, hath rendered many and great services to the Athenian People, and to many of their allies, and both heretofore and at this present time hath by his Decrees succoured and freed several of the Eubœan states, and still perseveres in his zeal for the Athenian People, and both counsels and does whatever in him lies for the benefit of the said People and the rest of Greece; it hath pleased the Senate and People of Athens to signalise Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian, and to crown him with a crown of gold, and to proclaim the coronation in the theatre by means of the new Dionysian performers; directing the presiding tribe and the superintendent of games to take charge of the proclamation of the

crown. On the motion of Aristonicus of Phreara¹.

Is there one of you who conceives the state to have suffered any disgrace from this Decree, or that there was anything despicable or laughable in it, as he says would now follow from my being crowned? But as these transactions are recent and notorious, if they were right, they will receive commendation; if wrong, punishment. I, however, must be admitted to have received thanks upon the occasion, and not censure or punishment.

Wherefore, down to the time when these things were transacted, it is confessed that my measures were ever conducive to the public good, whensoever in your deliberations I could prevail, in favour of the Decrees which I propounded; that when my Decrees were acted upon, crowns were bestowed on the country and on me; and that you offered up sacrifices and thanksgivings to the gods for the fortunate conduct of your affairs. But after Philip was driven from Eubœa by your arms, by my counsels and

¹ The difficulty of Δ's Greek, and the difference of ordinary Greek composition, is not anywhere more perceptible than when the language of these Decrees is compared with his diction.

decrees however, (let some of these men burst if they will¹!) he sought out some new mode of beleaguering our state. Perceiving that we consumed a greater quantity of foreign grain than any other nation, he became eager to make himself master of the corn-trade, marched upon Thrace, and urged the Byzantians, his confederates, to join him in attacking you. But when they refused, and alleged most truly that their alliance with him extended not to this, he drew his works round their city, planted his batteries² against it, and formed the siege. In these circumstances, I will not ask what course we were called upon to pursue, for that is manifest to all. But who was it that succoured the Byzantians and saved them? Who that prevented the Hellespont at that juncture from being

¹ *διαρραγῶσι*. The strength of the figure is again an instance of the character already cited from Athenæus. There is no mention of 'envy' here, though Leland and the other English translators add it. Δ may have meant spite, impatience, hatred, revenge, as well as envy, the addition of which is to assign a vainglorious meaning. Leland translates the whole paraphrastically—rendering *ὅπλοις ὑμῶν*, 'the military glory was yours,' in order to work out the antithesis.

² *χαρακώματα*—circumvallations, works—*μηχανήματα*, engines—catapults—batteries. Dawson's 'drawing a trench round the walls' is not right.

alienated? You, men of Athens. But when I name you, I mean the whole country. But who was it that counselled the country, and propounded the Decree, and carried the measures, and unsparingly, and without reserve, devoted himself to your service? It was I. And how much these things advanced the common interests needs not be learnt from words; you have felt it in the results; for the war which was undertaken, independent of the splendid glory which it brought you, made all the necessities of life more abundant and cheaper than they were in time of that peace which these worthy persons would have you maintain against the best interests of their country, in the hopes of something happening hereafter, (hopes which I pray may be disappointed,) nor share in those blessings which you, in your patriotic courses, have supplicated the gods to grant, nor mete out to you the boons they choose for themselves! But read them the Byzantian and Perinthian Crowns, bestowed on this country for its services to those states.

DECREE OF THE BYZANTIANS.

In the pontificate of Bosporicus, Damagetus thus reported to the Senate, having obtained

leave to speak—Whereas the People of Athens, having on all former occasions steadily befriended the Byzantians and their allies, and their kinsmen, the Perinthians, have, in the present juncture, conferred great and important benefits upon them, and when Philip of Macedon invaded the country and the cities of the Byzantians and Perinthians, ravaged their territories, and cut down their timber, did send 120 ships laden with grain, arms, and troops, whereby they rescued us from great perils, and restored to us the constitution, the laws, and the sepulchres of our forefathers ; may it therefore please the People of Byzantium and Perinthus to confer upon the Athenians the rights of marriage, citizenship, property in lands and houses¹, precedence at spectacles, admission to the senate and assemblies near the ministers of religion ; also to such as desire to reside in the city, exemption from serving compulsory offices² ; and to direct that three statues, of sixteen cubits

¹ οἰκίαν in some readings. Reiske suggests οἰκίας, correctly it should seem.

² Francis and Dawson and Leland render ἀλειτουργήτοις ἡμεν πασῶν τῶν λειτουργιῶν, 'exemption from all taxes and imposts.' Wolff has it 'immunitatem omnium onerum civilium.' But the word λειτουργία means 'serving an office.'

high, be erected on the Bosphorus, indicating that the Athenian People have been crowned by the People of Byzantium and Perinthus; and that proclamations¹ be despatched to the solemn meetings of Greece, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian, to announce the crowning by us of the Athenians, to the end that all the Greeks may know the merits of the Athenians, and the gratitude of Byzantium and Perinthus.

Read now the Chersonesitan Decree of coronation.

CHERSONESITAN DECREE.

The Chersonesitans, inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, Halonesus, crowned the Senate and People of Athens with a golden crown of sixty talents' value, and erected an altar to gratitude and the Athenian People, for having conferred on the Chersonesitans the greatest of all benefits in rescuing from the hands of Philip, and restoring to them, their country, their laws,

¹ Reiske has *θεοπίας* - Wolff and others *δοπεύς*. The former seems the preferable reading. Why presents were to be sent to the games, and who was to receive them, is hard to understand. Francis, Dawson, and Leland, however, all read *δοπεύς*,

their liberty, their religion. Nor will they ever, through all ages, cease to be grateful for the same, and to do the Athenians all the good in their power. Decreed in Public Council.

Not only, then, were the Byzantians and Perinthians saved ; not only was Philip prevented from seizing upon the Hellespont ; not only was this country honoured for these achievements, through my measures and my policy ; but the unsullied integrity of Athens, and the iniquity of Philip were made manifest to all mankind. For it was seen by all that he who was the friend and ally of the Byzantians had laid siege to their capital, than which what could be conceived more scandalous, more mean¹ ? But you, who had so many and such just grounds of complaint for their misdeeds in times past, were seen not only unwilling to remember your own wrongs, or to desert those who were themselves suffering under injustice, but anxious to save them ; and thus you gained glory and favour and honour

¹ Francis gets rid of this fine exclamation, and makes it a parenthesis ; he renders αἰσχίον infamous, though shameful or scandalous is better. Wolff has 'fœdius aut sceleratius.' Dawson, 'base and iniquitous.' Leland, 'a baser, a more abandoned outrage.'

with all. Now every one knows that many of our statesmen have been crowned by you. But no one can name any individual, save myself, I mean any minister or orator, through whom the country has been crowned.

Now, in order to show that all the invectives which he has levelled against the Eubœans and Byzantians, as often as he made mention of their having done any thing vexatious¹ towards you, are pure calumnies, not only because they are utterly false (for that I imagine is already plain enough to your apprehension), but because, even if they were well founded, still the course which I pursued, in administering your affairs, was the most expedient, I will advert to one or two transactions which took place with glory to the country, and I will do so very briefly. For it becomes individuals in their private concerns, and the state in public affairs, to shape their subsequent conduct in consistency with the brightest passages of their former lives².

¹ τὶ δυσχερές is rendered 'errors' by Francis, though it means unhandy, hurtful, vexatious, and is almost the reverse of mere mistake. Accordingly Leland calls it 'offences.' Dawson has made a word 'diskindness' for the occasion.

² Francis has well rendered the meaning here. Stock leaves it doubtful by putting 'exempla quæ sibi extant;'

You, then, men of Athens, when the Spartans had the ascendant by land and by sea, and held all Attica round under their control and keeping, and Eubœa, and Tanagra, and all Bœotia, Megara, Ægina, Cleone, and the other islands, while this country had neither ships nor bulwarks, you marched to Iliartus, and a few days after to Corinth, at a moment when you had many grounds of complaint¹ against the Corinthians and the Thebans for their conduct in the Decelian war. But you remembered them not; nothing of the kind; and this, Æschines, the people did, not because of any benefit received, or because they descried no perils; but because they would not cast off those who had fled to them for refuge, nay, would rather expose themselves to all dangers, rightly² and nobly consulting their own glory and honour.

though adding 'reliquas actiones' seems to ascertain the 'exempla.' Dawson's 'single out the most illustrious examples' is also doubtful at the least. λοιπά leaves no doubt. Francis is wrong in putting *πειρᾶσθαι πράττειν*, to excel.

¹ *μνησικακήσαι*. Wolff has 'causas simultatum' (habere). Stock 'injurias recordari et objicere;' but there is no 'objicere' in the Greek.

² *ὀρθῶς*—Francis: 'consulting their interest.' Dawson, 'no less honest than heroic.' Leland very prolixly, 'and surely their determination was just and generous.'

For death happens to all men at the last, even if they flee for safety to the cellar¹; but the brave must ever attempt glorious deeds, animated by fair hope, and boldly resolved to endure whatever lot Heaven may send. Thus did our forefathers, thus did the more aged among yourselves, when you opposed the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra, in their invasion of the Spartans, who were neither your friends nor benefactors, but had committed many and serious wrongs against this country; opposed² them, undismayed by their power

¹ καθείρξας τηρή. Literally, may shut himself up for defence. Francis, 'hide himself for safety.' Dawson, 'the most secret inclosures (οἰκίσκῳ) cannot guard against it.' Leland, 'into whatever corner he may shrink from the inevitable blow' the blow being a figure kindly lent to Δ. As οἰκίσκος means a cellar or other secret recess, why it should be left out, when it greatly aids the picturesque description, is inconceivable. If cellar seems too low, it may be rendered 'if he seeks safety in the most secret lurking place.'

² Francis and Taylor think a verb ἐβόηθησαν wanting here to govern 'Spartans.' It seems, however, only an inversion, and the ἐπιτείρον governs Λακεδαιμονίους. Wolff is, as usual, right, and so are Dawson and Leland; although the latter wholly mistranslates καὶ δόξαν, making it the motive of the Athenians, whereas it is coupled with ῥώμην by the plain sense, the want of another verb to connect it with the Athenians, and the verb ἐπύρχουσιν, which covers both substantives.

or the glory they then possessed, not caring what those had done in whose behalf you were about to encounter dangers. You thus declared to all the Greek states, that whatever any of them might have done to injure you, you reserved your displeasure for the proper occasion; and that if they came to be in jeopardy of their security or their liberty, you neither remembered the injury, nor called them to account.

Nor was it only then that such were your dispositions; but when again the Thebans claimed Eubœa, you did not leave them to their fate; you did not bear in mind the injuries you had sustained from Themison and Theodorus respecting Oropus, but you succoured even them from the time that voluntary trierarchs were made, of whom I was one. But we are not yet come to that point. You acted nobly, however, in saving the island; but far more nobly still, when, after gaining possession both of troops and towns¹, you re-

¹ σωμάτων καὶ πόλεων. Most translators render this 'inhabitants and cities,' as if the allusion were to sparing their lives. Apparently σωμάτων refers to the soldiery, because ἀποδοῦναι applies to giving back those who had been saved as prisoners; σώματι is used often in contradistinction to χρήματα, as the French speak of the *personnel*

stored both to those. who had wronged you, nor exacted any reparation for their injuries from those who now put their trust in you.

Numberless things which I might here add, I pass over; sea-fights, expeditions by land¹, armaments undertaken both in former times and of late by yourselves—all which the country did for the liberties and the safety of the rest of Greece. When, therefore, I saw that in such and so great emergencies she was determined to exert herself for the interests of others, what was I to urge or what advise her to do when the case in some sort became her own? Was I, good heavens! to make her remember the aggressions of those who wanted to be saved by her, and seek out pretexts for betraying the interests of all? And who is there that might not have been justified in putting me to death had I attempted by a single word of mine to tarnish the country's glories? For that you yourselves were incapable of doing such a thing I full well knew.

and *matériel* of an army. It is also used for slaves, or such men as can be held in property. This may be its meaning here.

¹ Leland is right in rendering *πεζάς*, literally 'on foot,' as denoting land, in contradistinction to the *ναυμαχίας*. Wolff joins it with *σπαρείους*.

Had you been so disposed, what was there to hinder you? Had you not full power? Were not those very men at hand ready enough to recommend it?

I would now revert to my measures in their order; and do you again consider what in the circumstances was most for the public benefit. When I saw, Athenians, that your navy was decaying; that the wealthier classes were escaping all taxes by paying an insignificant contribution, while the citizens in moderate or in poor circumstances were sacrificing all they had; and that the country was thus losing the means of acting until the occasion had passed by; I carried a law by which I compelled the rich to contribute their share, and protected the poor from being oppressed, and I provided what was most advantageous to the country, that all warlike preparations should be ready at the proper time. Being impeached for Illegal¹ Proposition, I appeared before you—I was acquitted—and my accuser had not a fifth part of your votes. But then how much, think you, the first class of citizens, or those in the second,

¹ *γραφείς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν παρὰ νόμον*. It was properly unconstitutional rather than illegal; but having always rendered the phrase as a technical term, which the *γραφὴ παρὰ νόμον* was, it is better to adhere to the same words.

or even in the third rank, would have given me not to carry this law, or if I must, then that I should suffer it to be frustrated by taking the Oath of Postponement¹? So much, Athenians, that I dare² not state it in this place; and it was worth their while to do so. For by the old laws they could combine sixteen together³ to bear one assessment, so as to pay little or nothing individually while they ground down the poorer citizens; but my law provided

¹ καταβάλλοντι ἔἴη ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ must mean as in the text. Leland translates the last word 'affected cavil and delay.' But the word refers to the oath taken when a trial was postponed for cause, to go on with it another day. Dawson is wrong in translating καταβάλλοντα 'defer,' it is 'frustrate—defeat.'

² ὀκνέομαι is 'I dare not,' or 'I am slow,' or 'unwilling,' not 'I am ashamed;' yet Leland, Francis, and Dawson all have the latter. Wolff, '*non audeo.*'

³ συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν is literally, 'sixteen together fill the office,' and accordingly Wolff has it '*munera obire.*' But the sense is plainly as in the text; for the manner of assessing was to appoint those who should furnish ships, trierarchs, which was an office entailing on the holder the providing a galley, and no other duty seems to have belonged to it; as if we should, instead of allowing men to raise regiments for rank and then to command them, oblige them to raise regiments and not let them have the command. The plan of ship-money in the seventeenth century resembled this, counties being ordered to find a ship or ships.

that each should contribute according to his means; so that the same person now gives two galleys, who had before contributed only the sixteenth part of one; nor indeed did they call themselves trierarchs, but contributors. Hence there was nothing they would not have given to defeat me and escape being compelled to contribute their fair proportion. Now first read me the Decree by which it was prosecuted, and then the Assessment, both according to the old law and according to mine.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Polycles, the 16th of the month Boedromion, and the presidency of the Hippothois, Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian, brought forward a law upon the duty of trierarchs, instead of the former law, whereby the naval constitutions were regulated, and the Senate and the People decreed accordingly; and Patrocles, of the Phlyan, impeached Demosthenes of Illegal Proposition, but not obtaining the fifth part of the votes, he was fined in fifty drachms¹.

¹ After omitting to mark the difference of style, as has been above observed, Leland here all at once becomes formal and technical when the original is not, and renders the simple conjunction *kai*, 'Be it remembered.'

Produce now the fine old assessment.

ASSESSMENT.

Let¹ trierarchs for providing a galley be named in bodies of sixteen, according to their contributions in tribes, from 25 to 40 years of age, and let them bear the expense of this office equally.

Produce now, to compare with that, the assessment according to my law.

ASSESSMENT.

Let trierarchs be chosen for providing one galley according to their means, from among those rated at ten talents; but if their substance be found greater by the rate, then let the burden be laid in the aforesaid proportion, as far as three galleys and a boat. But let the same proportion be observed as to those whose fortune is under ten talents, they being joined together in order to make up ten talents.

Do I now appear to you as having but little holpen the poor? Or think you that the rich

Francis omits the first part of the assessment altogether; it is not easy to see why.

would give but little to escape paying their just share? Wherefore I glory, not because I yielded not to the latter, or because I was acquitted on the impeachment; but because I enacted a beneficial law, and that I have proved it such by its working. For while fleets were fitted out according to its provisions during the whole war, not a single trierarch ever preferred a complaint to you of unjust treatment—none took sanctuary in Munychia¹—none were imprisoned by the naval superiors—no galley captured abroad was lost to the country—none were left at home incapable of putting to sea. Yet all these things used to happen under the old law, owing to the poor being made to bear the burden; many cases, therefore, of their incapability occurred. But I transferred the galley service from the needy to the wealthy; and then all was accomplished that could be required. On this account, therefore, I may justly challenge applause for pursuing the policy from which both glory and honour and power resulted to the country, while in that policy there was nothing invi-

¹ A temple of Diana in that promontory afforded sanctuary against execution under sentences of courts; but some hold this to allude to a court of appeal in nautical causes held there.

dious, or harsh¹, or malignant; nothing abject or unworthy of Athens; and it is manifest that I administered in the same spirit our domestic affairs and those of Greece at large; for I neither in regard to this country preferred the favour of the rich to the rights of the people; nor in regard to our foreign policy did I value the largesses and the hospitality of Philip above the common interests of the Greek states.

It remains for me, I conceive, to speak of the Proclamation and of the Accounts²; for I think I have sufficiently shown, by what I have stated, that I always acted for the best, was zealous in your service, and bent upon pursuing your good. The greater part of my

¹ *πικρὸν* is harsh; but some, as Dawson, call it spleen; and others, as Leland, rancour. *βύρκιον* is plainly invidious, from both the derivation and the sense; and so all have it, though Dawson must needs add 'no tincture,' to give *Δ*'s negation force.

² The Greek is only *τῶν εἰθιγῶν*. Francis is clearly right in the meaning, but gives a paraphrase, not a translation—'the obligation of passing my accounts before I am crowned.' This habit of weakening the sense, smothering it with words, is what makes *Δ* appear so unlike himself in most translations. Wolff's '*rationibus referendis*' is made necessary by the Latin having no word answering to our 'accountant.'

policy and my conduct, however, I pass over, considering in the first place that I have to discuss fully the charge of Illegal Proposition, and next, that should I say nothing of my other measures, the conscience of each of you would be my witness before you.

As to those arguments which, in utter confusion¹, he has flung out about his comparative exhibition of the laws², I protest, I neither conceive that you comprehend them, nor could I myself follow the greater part of them. But I shall plainly and in a straightforward way argue the point of law. So far am I from contending against my being accountable, as he has now more than once falsely and dis-

¹ ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκλών. Dawson has rendered this, 'tedious and perplexed harangue;' but why tedious? Francis, 'confused and perplexed.' Leland, 'confusion and embarrassment.' Wolff, 'sursum et deorsum permistos.' Literally, 'confused, topsy-turvy.'

² περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων. Francis, following Taylor, is clearly right here. The phrase refers to the laws of which Æschines had theatrically exhibited a copy, to show how they had been violated. Παραγράφω is to write side by side, or copy. Wolff's 'legis exceptivæ' is no translation at all, if it has any meaning at all. Dawson sinks the phrase in the convenient way, not unusual with translators, who are indolent or ignorant; he being of the former class. Leland has 'his authentic transcript of the laws.'

tinctly affirmed, that I admit myself to be all my life long answerable for whatever I have ever either undertaken¹ or administered in your service. But respecting those gifts which, in performance of promises², I made to the people from my private fortune, I deny that I am accountable for a single day. Do you hear, Æschines? Nor is any other person accountable; no, nor any one who may happen to be among the Archons. For where is the law so full³ of injustice and cruelty as to strip of all the graces of generosity the man who has been lavish of his fortune upon the public in the performance of benevolent and munificent deeds, leaving him a prey to false accusers, and arming them with the power of calling him to account for the gifts which he has given⁴? There is nowhere such a law. If he

¹ διακχείμικα take in hand, had in hand.

² ἐπαγγειλάμενος δίδωκα clearly means as in the text.

³ μεστός—perhaps ‘loaded, stuffed.’ Francis, ‘full.’ Dawson omits it. Leland, ‘pregnant.’ Wolff, ‘plena.’

⁴ τοὺτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ἐφιστάναι—to place them over (or as superintendents of) accounts—to make them auditors. The phrase is very fine, to express the unreasonableness of so treating voluntary contributors. Francis and Dawson lose it entirely, the one having ‘make them judges of his liability,’ (which is not the sense at all;) the other, ‘examiners and judges,’ which would have been

says there is, let him produce it, and I shall sit down and be silent. But there is no such law, Athenians. But this calumniator, because, when superintendent of theatres, I spent money of my own, affirms that the senate has pronounced a panegyric upon a public accountant. It was not for any such expenditure as made me an accountant, calumniator; it was for my voluntary gifts. 'But then,' says he, 'you were also Superintendent of the Wall Repairs.' And so on this very ground was I eulogized, because I made a free gift of the sums expended, and did not charge them as expenditure. For expenditure implies accountants and auditors, but donations justly call for thanks and praise. Hence this decree (of Ctesiphon) in my favour.

Now that all this is not only sanctioned by our laws, but established by our common feelings¹, I shall easily show by many proofs. For first, Nausicles, when Strategus, was frequently crowned by you, in consideration of the sums

better without the 'judges.' Leland loses the true meaning, but gives a good turn of another kind—'give them a power to scrutinize his bounty.' Wolff, as usual, has the meaning, though here he is long, 'rationibus reposcendis præficiat.'

¹ ἡθεσιν, not ἔθεσιν, which translators, including even Wolff, have supposed it to be when they rendered it customs or usages.

which he expended from his private fortune; next, Diotimus, for the shields which he gave, and afterwards Charidemus, were both crowned. Then Neoptolemus standing there, who was superintendent of many public works, obtained honours for the money he gave towards them. It would indeed be hard¹ if a man in office were not suffered to give his own money towards the expenses of his own department, or were to be made a public accountant in respect of the sums so given, instead of receiving the thanks of the country. To prove the truth of what I say, read me the Decrees made respecting those whom I have named.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Demonicus of the Phlyan, and on the 26th of Boedromion, by the advice of the Senate and People, Callias of Phreara declared that it has pleased the

¹ σχέτιον—Francis, 'It would be deplorable.' Though this is the meaning of the word, and if Δ were looking to the effects on the public service of the course he is deprecating, this might be the right translation, yet it seems as if he were only arguing on the treatment of the benefactor, in which case hard, or cruel, another meaning, is the right one. Dawson, 'Hard would be the lot.' Leland, 'Hard.' Wolff, 'Acerbum.'

Senate and People that Nausicles, general of infantry, be crowned, for that 2000 Athenian heavy troops being in Imbrus, and aiding the Athenian inhabitants of the said island, and Philo, the superintendent of finance, not being able, by reason of the tempestuous weather, either to make sail or to pay the said troops, Nausicles contributed his own money, and did not charge the public; and further, that the Coronation be proclaimed at the exhibition of the new tragedians.

SECOND DECREE.

Callias of Phreara, upon the report of the Prytanes, after consulting the Senate, declared that, whereas Charidemus, general of infantry, being sent with the fleet to Salamis, and Diotimus, general of cavalry, when sundry soldiers had been despoiled by the enemy at the battle fought near the river, did, at their own charge, equip the new recruits with 800 shields; it hath therefore pleased the Senate and People that Charidemus and Diotimus be crowned with a golden crown, and that proclamation thereof be made at the great festival of Minerva, in the Gymnical contest, and at the Dionysian exhibition of the new trage-

dians; and that the Thesmothetes, Prytanes, and Prefects of Games take charge of the proclamation.

Every one of those men, Æschines, was a public accountant in the office which he held, but was not an accountant in respect of those things for which he was crowned. Wherefore, neither am I an accountant; for I have, in every respect, the same rights with them. I gave money to the state, and was thanked for it, not called to account for what I gave. I was in office, and I rendered an account of what appertained to my office, not of what I freely bestowed. But then, forsooth, it seems I exercised my office wrongfully¹. Then why did not you impeach me,—you who were present when the auditors cited me to answer? To show you, therefore, that he is himself the witness of my being crowned for the expendi-

¹ ἀδίκως ἤρξε. Francis exceeds himself and all other paraphrasians here. These two words he spins into, 'I have been guilty of strange misdemeanours in the discharge of these employments.' Is not this really making a speech for Δ? Then why must a new person, 'the secretary,' be called in to read this decree? Δ only says, take and read. The omission of προβούλευμα, previous order, is also quite wrong. Francis, instead of this, says, 'every article.'

ture about which I had not to render any account, produce and read the whole Decree concerning me ; for, from the things which are not charged in that previous Decree, he will appear to be a false accuser in his present charge.—Read.

DECREE

In the archonship of Euthycles, the 22d of Pyanepsion, and the presidency of the Æncidian tribe, on the proposition of Ctesiphon, the son of Leosthenes the Anaphlystian :—Whereas Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, being Curator of the Wall Repairs, and having advanced three talents out of his private fortune towards the works, did give the same to the people, and being Superintendent of the Theatrical Fund, did give to the theatrical fund of all the tribes one hundred minæ towards the expense of sacrifices ; it hath therefore pleased the Senate and People of Athens to honour Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, on account of his merit and the public spirit which, on every occasion, he perseveringly displays towards the Athenian People ; that he be crowned with a crown of gold ; and that pro-

clamation be made thereof in the theatre at the Dionysian exhibition of the new tragedians. The superintendent of games is charged with having the proclamation made.

That, therefore, is what I gave, and you have made no mention of it in your Charge; but what the senate ordered to be given to me in return was that for which you are impeaching me. While, then, you confess that it is lawful to receive my gifts, do you charge as illegal the gratitude of the people in return? Good Heavens! what manner of man can he be who is utterly profligate, and hateful to the gods, and truly detestable¹? Is not he precisely such a one as this?

Then as to the proclamation in the theatre,

¹ βίσκανος ὄντως, truly envious, is the ordinary sense; but after παμπόνηρος and θεοῖς ἐχθρός this would be an anticlimax, while βίσκανος is used for nefarious, or abandoned, or detestable. Francis gives it 'possessed with the most malignant spirit of envy;' words enough, surely, if that would suffice, to raise the sense above the antecedent epithets. Dawson, on the other hand, has not one; but, to make up for leaving out βίσκανος and θεοῖς ἐχθρός, he expands οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος into 'And yet does not Æschines own himself to be a man of these detestable principles?' Leland has 'malignant wretch,' and puts θεοῖς ἐχθρός after it, to help Δ apparently out of this anticlimax. Wolff, 'revera lividus.'

I pass over its having been done thousands of thousands of times, and myself having been often before crowned there. ' But, gracious Heavens! Æschines, are you perverse¹ and senseless to such a pitch, as not to perceive that the crown bestows the same glory wherever it may be proclaimed, and that the proclamation in the theatre is only for the benefit of those who confer the crown? For thus all the spectators are stimulated well to serve their country, and they applaud those who bestow more than those who receive the crown. Wherefore the state enacted this law. But take now and read it.

LAW.

What persons soever shall be crowned in any of the provinces, let the proclamations thereof be made in those provinces severally, unless

¹ *σκαίος* is rendered 'perversely absurd' by Francis, and by Dawson 'weak'; *ἀναίσθητος* seems to imply the absurdity sufficiently; and *Δ* never repeats or throws away any epithet. The meaning is 'perverse,' from *σκάω*, to halt or limp; and denotes here a judgment maimed or perverted by spite. Wolff's '*vecors et stupidus*' comes pretty near. The Frenchman, as usual, escapes by suppression, making '*êtes vous assez dépourvu de sens*' serve for both the Greek words.

any shall be crowned by the Senate and People of Athens. Of such it shall be permitted to make proclamation in the theatre at the Dionysian exhibition.

Do you hear, Æschines, the law distinctly saying, 'Unless any be crowned by the senate and people; but these may be proclaimed in the theatre?' Why, then, wretch, do you bring your false accusations? Why do you fabricate words? Why don't you purge your brain with hellebore for your malady? Are you not ashamed to prosecute through spite where no offence has been committed, and to pervert some of the laws and garble¹ others, when in common justice the whole should have been

¹ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς. Francis makes Δ stop to tell the Athenians that hellebore was used to purge away 'the madness of the brain.' Dawson 'to purge the head of those disorders which have thrown them into so great a phrenzy.' In adding even the 'brain' in the text more is done than is perhaps warranted or necessary; but 'purging with hellebore' might seem equivocal. Again, for ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, 'taking away parts,' garbling, is a sufficient version, and a strictly correct one. Francis has 'quoted partially,' which is well enough; but Dawson adds a whole idea, and one quite superfluous for giving the sense, when he says, 'produce only such parts as make for your own purpose.'

cited, especially before those who have sworn to decide by these laws? And then, while such is your own conduct, you must lay down what sort of person a popular chief ought to be, as if one who had ordered a statue according to a given model¹ should accept it, though made on a different model entirely, or as if public men were to be known by their words and not by their deeds and their measures². And you bawl out, like a strolling player³,

¹ The original is certainly not 'model,' but 'bond or agreement,' *σιγγραφή*; but the sense seems to indicate that the agreement contained a model or plan; else the comparison fails; for if it were only the written parts of the bargain, as the price, time of delivery, &c., in which the sculptor had failed, the simile would also fail. The Frenchman here omits the word on which the whole likeness turns, *κομιζόμενος*, importing the acceptance of the statue, and compares Æschines only to one who had given an order and been disappointed.

² Most translators make the *λόγῳ* and the *πράγμασι* apply to the same person. Francis takes credit for suggesting that *λόγῳ* means, 'by Æschines' account.' This, though very agreeable to the sense, and more spirited perhaps than the other version, seems not allowable by the construction.

³ *ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης*—with the allusion that follows to Æschines and his family, was quite enough to fix what *cart Δ* meant, without Francis's addition, 'the original cart of your profession.'

things whether fit to be spoken or not, and suited to you and your race, not to me.

The case, however, men of Athens, stands thus. I hold abuse to differ from impeachment in this, that impeachment embraces offences punishable by law, but abuse consists of whatever scurrilities personal enemies choose to vent against one another, according to the malignity of their own nature. But I have always conceived our ancestors to have erected these halls of justice, not that you should assemble in them, leaving your private concerns, to hear whatever abominable things we could utter in abuse of each other, but that we might inquire of any offences committed against the state. Æschines, aware of this, full as well as I am, has rather chosen to make such an exhibition¹ than to prosecute an impeachment.

But even in this kind of conflict it is right that he should get as good as he brings²; I

¹ *πομπείειν*. Translators have, for the most part, rendered this as 'pouring out invectives.' Wolff, 'scurram agere.' Stock, 'scommata effutire;' but it seems to be only exhibiting a theatrical display, the original meaning, and applies to the *ἀμύξις*—Leland 'discharge his virulence.'

² *ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπελθεῖν*—go off with less *scil.* than he brought—being precisely our vernacular expression.

will therefore go on and ask, Whether any one would call you the country's enemy or mine, Æschines? Mine, beyond all question. Then, when by law you could have brought me to justice, for the good of the people, had I offended, you never proceeded against me, neither as a public accountant, nor as a public accuser, or on any other head of charge. But when I stand clear on all hands—by the laws—by lapse of time—by prescription, by the judgment repeatedly pronounced heretofore upon all these matters—by my never once having been convicted before the people of any offence—and when more or less of glory has of necessity resulted to the country from my public conduct¹, then it is that you make your stand! See if you are not in reality the country's enemy while you pretend to be only mine!

Having, then, made it clear to all what is the righteous and just vote to give, it seems

Francis renders it, 'Go off in triumph, and escape the vengeance he has provoked:' Dawson only gives 'to recriminate'—both leaving out the idiomatic terms. Leland here is bad—both diffuse and feeble—'escape without the due returns of severity on my part.'

¹ The original only has it, that more or less glory accrued to the state from the public proceedings or conduct, δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων; but it must mean, from Δ's measures.

incumbent upon me, 'however little given to invective my nature may be, in consequence of the slanders which he has vented¹, not indeed like him to bring forward a multitude of falsehoods², but to state what is most necessary to be known respecting him, and to show what he is, and from what sort of race sprung, who is so prone to evil speaking, and who carps at some of my expressions, after himself saying such things as no decent person would have dared to utter³. For if Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or

¹ Wolff is the most close generally, and certainly at all times the most abstinent, of translators. It seems odd, then, that he should render *ειρημένας* '*coacervata*.' The '*malidicta*' joined to it might prevent the literal version being given, but many words nearer than *coacervata* might surely have been found. On no other translator would this be deemed a fair remark; but we only note the departure from his general scheme.

² *ἀντί* is plainly 'instead of,' and not as Leland gives it, 'in answer to.' His note on *ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν* is singular. He gives the words 'Well, then,' and supposes they plainly denote that some acclamations had arisen, of which Δ took advantage. But the connexion of the passage with what goes before is plain and easy, and these words only mean, 'After, then,' or 'Having, then.'

³ This is a fine question, or exclamation, in the original — 'things which what moderate man is there that would have uttered?' We lose in the English the force of this, and of such noble words as *ᾧκησε φθέγγεσθαι*.

Minos, were my accuser instead of this word-monger¹, this hack of the courts, this pestilent scribe, I don't much think they would thus have spoken, nor should we have heard them delivering themselves like ranting stage-players, 'Oh, Earth! oh, Sun! oh, Virtue!' and so forth; and then invoking 'intellect and education, whereby right and wrong are distinguished,' as we just now heard him declaiming. Why, what had ever you or yours, you abomination², to do

¹ στεμνολόγος Francis, 'word catcher;' but it is 'seed-catcher,' if it cannot be rendered, according to the sense rather than the etymology, 'word-spawner.' Dawson, 'impertinent babbler.' Leland's 'babbling sycophant' is very absurd; for why add sycophant either in the Greek or English sense? In the latter it is indeed mere nonsense. Wolff, 'vitiligator,' perhaps meaning one who has a leprosy of words, if it be not a misprint for vitiligator, a dealer in chicane. Stock, '*blatere manus*.' The real meaning is confined to the diseased fluency, and 'word-monger' is as near it as we can perhaps come. περίτρυμμα is a thing worn down. Francis's 'hackneyed pettifogger' is not bad. Dawson, 'retailer of precedents.' Leland joins it very incorrectly with the ὀλεθρὸς γραμματεῖς, and makes the two phrases into one, 'wretched, hackneyed scrivener;' the latter word applying to a money dealer and not to a scribe. Wolff, '*rabula forensis*.' Stock, '*rabula detritus*.' The celebrity of this passage makes it excusable to dwell so long on its exact meaning.

² κάθαρμα. Francis, 'impurity.' Dawson, 'impudent

with virtue? or what discrimination of right and wrong? Whence did you get it? or how attain anything so respectable? How should you be permitted to name the name of education, which they who are really well educated never allude to,—nay, blush if another so much as mentions it? But those who, like you, are without it, make pretences to it, from sheer want of sense, till they sicken their hearers while they speak, without at all making their own education appear.

But though I am in no want of matter to state concerning you and your family, I am in some difficulty where to begin. Shall it be with your father Tromes being a slave loaded with fetters and billets, to Elpias, who kept a reading school at the temple of Theseus? Or shall it be with your mother¹, who celebrated

wretch,' which is wide of the mark. Leland, 'Thou miscreant.' Wolff, '*O sentina flagitiorum.*' μετουσία may also be rendered substantively, 'What commerce with virtue,' &c. Wolff so gives it. His version of what follows is extremely loose, especially for him, '*Quæve talium rerum dijudicatio? unde assecutus? qui eam dignitatem adeptus es?*'

¹ Dawson, deeming the invective of Δ too gentle, makes the mother 'venerable;' a piece of irony which, if it ever occurred to the Greek, he has thought proper to suppress.

daily marriages in her lodging-house¹, at the temple of Calamites, and brought up your fine figure of a consummate third-rate actor²? But everybody knows all this, though I were to pass it all over. Shall I start then from the time when the boat-piper Phormio, the slave of Dion, took her away from this choice occupation? But, by Jupiter and all the gods, I begin to fear lest, while I am saying what is quite applicable to you, I may appear to be speaking things not very becoming myself. I will pass by these matters, then, and will begin with what he has himself done. He is not such a man as you may meet every day, but one of those execrable to the people. For lately—lately, did I say?—ay, yesterday, and no longer ago, he became at once a citizen and an orator, and adding two syllables to his father's name, he changed it from Tromes to Atrometus; but duly honouring his mother, he called her Glaucothea, whom we all knew by the name of Empusa, an appellation drawn from her habits

¹ κλισίῳ, an eating or resting-house — a garret or cellar.

² ἄκρον τριταγωνιστήν. Francis, 'a first-rate actor of third-rate parts.' Dawson, καλὸν ἀνδριάντα, 'pretty puppet.' The allusion to acting which follows seems to justify this, only that the word is a statue or figure.

of performing and submitting to everything. Whence but from hence should it come? Yet so thankless at once and so unprincipled are you by nature, that, having by the favour of the Athenian people been raised from slavery to freedom, from poverty to riches, you show your gratitude for these benefits by hiring yourself out to pursue the course most ruinous to their interests¹. I will pass over what is disputed, whether or not his words have been directed for the benefit of the country; but his deeds, manifestly done for the benefit of her enemies, these I must recall to your recollection.

Which of you is ignorant of Antiphon, struck off the citizens' list, and who came here, after having undertaken to Philip that he would fire your arsenal? When I seized him as he lay hid in the Piræus, and dragged him before the assembly of the people, this defamer roared and vociferated against me that I was doing things monstrous in a popular government, trampling

¹ Wolff, by following the Greek so literally here, and rendering *τούτους* and *τούτων*, '*hosce*' and '*eis*,' without more, would almost make it appear as if he thought the substantives referred to were the parents, instead of the people, to whom Δ plainly alludes. There *must* be some addition here to give the meaning.

upon unfortunate citizens, invading their private houses, without the authority of any sentence, and thus he obtained the man's discharge; and had not the Arcopagitic Council, hearing what he was about, and seeing you thrown off your guard at a critical moment, traced out the man, and brought him back in custody before you, the criminal would have escaped the punishment he justly deserved, and would have escaped through this specious declaimer¹. But you put the culprit to the rack and to death, as you ought to have done his defender.

Wherefore the Arcopagitic Council, observing what he had done, and that you had appointed him an advocate for the Temple at Delos, with the same improvidence which has made you so often neglect the public interests, when you appealed to them and made them umpires of the controversy, rejected him instantly as a traitor, and named Hyperides to speak in his place. This they did, giving them votes from the altar, while not a single one

¹ σεμνολόγος. Wolff, '*speciosum oratorem*.' Dawson, 'pompous and deep-mouthed declaimer.' Francis, 'pompous declaimer.' Leland, 'Thanks to the pompous speaker.'

was given for the wretch¹. To prove the truth of my statement, call me the witnesses to these transactions.

WITNESSES.

These persons give evidence for Demosthenes in behalf of all the rest: Callias of Sunium, Zeno of Phlya, Cleon of Phalerum, Demonicus of Marathon, that when the People appointed Æschines to manage the cause of the Temple at Delos, before the Amphyc-tions, we, in assembly met, decided Hyperides to be the more worthy of speaking on behalf of the country, and Hyperides was sent accordingly.

Thus, when the Senate displaced him as he was about to plead the cause, and appointed another, they also pronounced him a traitor and enemy to the state. One great political measure of this hero you have here—similar, is it not, to those he blames of mine? Recall now another to your recollection. When Philip sent Python, the Byzantian, and joined with

¹ *μυρῶν*. Why does this suddenly become in Francis' hands 'unhallowed villain?' Leland and Dawson, 'miscreant.'

him ambassadors from all his allies, as if to put this country to shame, and make public her injustice, I did not yield to Python's insolence or his invectives against you; nor did I draw back, but stood up against him and answered him; nor did I abandon the just rights of the country, but convicted Philip of injurious proceedings so manifestly, that his own allies rose up and confessed it. But Æschines took their part, bore witness against his country, and bore false witness. Nor did this satisfy him; for he was soon after detected going with Anaxinus, the spy, to the house of Thrason. But whosoever meets alone a spy sent by the enemy, and consults with him, he is himself in his own nature a spy on, and an enemy of, the country. To prove the truth of these statements, call me the witnesses to them.

WITNESSES.

Meledemus, the son of Cleon, Hyperides, the son of Callæschrus, Nichomachus, the son of Diophantus, depose for Demosthenes, having been sworn before the Strategi—that they saw Æschines, the son of Atrometus, of Cothocis, come by night to the house of Thrason, and

consulting with Anaxinus, who was adjudged to be a spy sent by Philip. These depositions were made in the archonship of Nicias, on the 3d of Hecatombæon.

And now, although I have numberless other passages to relate respecting him, I pass them over ; for the matter stands thus—I am in possession of many proofs that he was in those times employed in serving the enemy and calumniating me. But neither have those things made any deep impression on your minds¹, nor have they roused your indignation as they deserved. On the contrary, you have always given to any wretch that wished it, full licence to supplant² and to blacken those who proposed the measures most advantageous to you ; thus bartering against the public good the pleasure and gratification of hearing invective. Hence it is always easier and safer to receive the wages of the enemy's service, than to

¹ οὐ τίθεται εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην—‘ have not committed to accurate memory.’ But it plainly means, ‘ are not fond of recollecting,’ or ‘ have not had any great impression made on your minds : ’ ‘ have been indifferent.’

² ἵποσκελίζειν—‘ to trip up, by putting the foot or leg under.’ Francis and Leland, ‘ supplant.’ Dawson, ‘ undermine.’ Wolff, ‘ *supplantare*.’

choose the line of policy prescribed by your interests.

And was it not monstrous¹, just before the war with Philip began, for any man openly to assist him against their country? Heaven and earth! how can any one deny it? Yet forgive him if you will—forgive² him this. But after Philip had openly seized our ships, was ravaging the Chersonese, was marching upon Attica itself, surely matters were no longer in any uncertainty³; war had reached us⁴. Then what did this slanderer, this sneermonger⁴ do for you? Not one decree of Æschines is there, be it greater, be it less, for promoting the interests of the state. If he pretends that there is any such, let him produce it, at the expense

¹ Francis chooses to translate δεινόν here 'impiety' and δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο, 'pardon him this impiety.' Leland renders δεινόν, 'shocking.'

² ἀμφισβητήσιμῳ—equivocal or doubtful state.

³ ἐνείσθηκει. Leland and others make it 'raged,' but adds 'at our very gates;' and Wolff, 'arderet.' It is 'stood near or close upon us,' and means only that at length and beyond all doubt war had reached them.

⁴ ἰαμβογράφος, altered by Taylor, and properly, ἰαμβοφύγος, the Iambic measure being appropriate to abuse, and Æschines never having, as far as we know, written any verses. Leland calls it 'theatrical ranter.' Dawson, incorrectly, 'satirical scribbler.' If it might be ἰαμβοφύρος, it would be better.

of my time and turn¹. But there exists nothing of the kind; and now one of two things follows—either that, finding nothing to blame in my measures upon that occasion, he had no others to propose²—or that, seeking to benefit the enemy, he did not propound measures better than mine. But said he nothing, propounded he nothing, where there was room for working you some mischief? Why, none but himself was then to be heard³!

And all the other things which he clandestinely did, the country might possibly have been able to bear; but one thing, men of Athens, he worked out besides⁴, which gave the finishing

¹ Literally, 'in my water'—that is, during Δ's share of the water-hourglass. The text seems to give the real turn of phrase; Wolff's '*ad meam aquam*' is nonsense by being literal.

² Wolff's extremely literal version here, as in the last note fails; '*non alia scripsisse*' is not sense.

³ Dawson wholly wanders from the sense here. 'And was it then only that he chose to forbear either speaking or writing, when he beheld you threatened with any impending danger? A fine time indeed to be silent, which afforded the fairest occasions for speaking!' This, beside being most unbearably paraphrastical, is really not near the meaning; it is the reverse of that meaning.

⁴ *ἐνεξερπύισατο*—I am not at all sure that this extremely compound word is not used to signify an outdoing of former outdoings. The literal meaning, however, is

stroke to all the rest¹—one on which he bestowed a great part of his speech, dwelling upon the decrees of the Locrian Amphissians, and as if to pervert the truth.—But all will not do². How should it? Quite the reverse. Never will you be able to expiate that passage of your life, speak you ever so long! But here, in your presence, Athenians, I invoke all the heavenly powers which have the Attic regions under their protection, and the Pythian Apollo, the hereditary deity of this state, I supplicate them all, if I now am speaking the truth before you, if I constantly spoke out before the people when I perceived this infamous man attempting the wicked act (for I was aware of it, I was quickly aware of it), then that they would vouchsafe me their favour and protection³; but if, through

given in the text. Leland omits the word, strangely enough.

¹ *πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἔθηκε τέλος*—literally, put the end to all the former. Francis, ‘crowned and completed all the former.’ Dawson, ‘crowned all the rest.’ Leland, ‘crowns all his former treasons.’ Wolff, ‘fastigium imponeret.’

² Literally ‘It is of that kind.’ There may be some corruption in this very elliptical passage.

³ *εὐτυχίαν* is good fortune, or the goods of fortune, and *σωτηρίαν*, safety; but when prayed for from the dispensers of the former, and the only authors of the latter, may well and closely mean ‘favour and protection.’ Besides, if,

personal enmity, or mere contentiousness of spirit, I falsely press this charge, may they be reave me of every earthly blessing¹!

Wherefore, then, am I thus vehement in my imprecations and asseverations? It is because, having the documents in the public records to prove what I assert beyond all dispute, and, perceiving that you remember the transactions in question, I only fear lest he should be supposed impotent to work such mischief, as happened once already, when he caused the destruction of the unhappy Phocians by the false intelligence he brought us. For the Am-

with Leland and others, we render it 'prosperity and safety,' it is an anticlimax, and accordingly they are found to reverse the order, clearly admitting their version to be wrong.

¹ ἀνόνητον πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν—may be distasteful to all the good. Leland, 'blast my hopes of happiness.' Wolff, 'ne ullius boni fructum capere patiantur.' I have followed the uniform train of translation and commentary, although doubting if ἀγαθά has this meaning, or indeed ἀνόνητος. The older editions, ἀνόνητον—which Taylor corrected justly. Wolff's rendering φιλονεικίαν 'privatim simultatem' is extraordinary; thus not giving the meaning at all. The Frenchman's 'rivalite' is much nearer the mark. Stock, 'contentionis studio,' is correct enough; but the best meaning is that given by the plain etymon—love of contention, or contentiousness of spirit. Leland, 'personal animosity'—Dawson, 'personal antipathy.'

phissæan war, which brought Philip to Elatea, made him be chosen chief of the Amphyctionic league, and ruined all the affairs of Greece, he—Æschines¹—it was that excited it; this one man was the cause of all our most heavy calamities; and when I, without delay, protested and cried out in the Assembly, ‘You are drawing down the Amphyctionic war upon Attica, Æschines,’—some who attended the meeting would not suffer me to speak, while others marvelled how I could, through private pique, bring so futile a charge against him. But what was the true description of these transactions, in what they originated, and how they were accomplished, you are now to hear, Athenians, since you were at that time prevented from hearing it; for you will thus both perceive the nicety of the contrivance, and obtain much information upon the history of our affairs, and see how great was the dexterity² of Philip.

¹ Literally, ‘on account of which Philip came,’ &c. Æschines’ name must be introduced to avoid the ambiguity, Philip being the last antecedent. The composition here is very fine.

² δεινότης. That this means here ‘skill, address, dexterity,’ is clear. Stock, ‘solertia;’ Wolff, ‘calliditas;’ but why he should make of the last member of one sentence a new period altogether, and say, ‘Quanta igitur

There was clearly no termination for him of the war with you, and no successful issue of that war, if he could not make the Thebans and Thessalians enemies of this country. But, although your commanders fought against him with bad fortune and no skill, he also sustained a thousand disasters from the war itself and from our privateers¹. For, while none of the produce of his territories could be exported, and nothing which he stood in need of could

fuit in Philippo calliditas, spectate,' is not easily perceived. But, though the meaning is certain, translators have, in rendering it, vied with each other in prolixity and paraphrase beyond all measure. Francis, 'How great was Philip's dexterity and address.' Dawson, 'With what singular dexterity Philip managed matters in that critical juncture.' Leland, 'What deep designs the heart of Philip could conceive;' and all this from these words, ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσασθε.

¹ ληστών. Leland and the French translators make this to mean 'the Athenian cruisers;' and Francis, 'our privateers.' The word means 'freebooter, pirate, robber.' The word being put in contradistinction to πολέμου shows it could not be intended to express any military operation, so that, if any of the above translations be right, it must be Francis's. But Wolff, has 'prædonibus,' and so Stock and Dawson, 'depredations of pirates.' The following sentence shows that it was 'piratical depredations,' or those of privateers, who certainly combined the piratical vocation with their more justifiable operations against enemies.

be imported, he neither had any superiority over you at sea, nor could reach Attica unless the Thessalians followed his standard, or the Thebans gave him a passage. It was his lot, after overcoming the generals whom you sent against him, such as they were (of that I say nothing), to be in great difficulties from the nature of the country¹ and the relative situation of the parties. If, then, to further his own quarrel, he should urge either the Thessalians or the Thebans to attack you, he was aware that they would never listen to him; but if, pretending to make common cause with them, he were chosen Generalissimo, he hoped easily to gain some of his ends by fraud, others by persuasion. What, then, is his contrivance? See only how fine! To involve the Amphyctions in war, and their councils in tumult²; for in these circumstances he concluded that they

¹ φύσει τοῦ τόπου can never be 'the situation of this kingdom,' as Leland has it. *ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέρους* seems to be as in the text; though it might mean, 'the supplies it (the country) furnished to each party;' to which Stock has inclined. The word *ὑπάρχοντα* often answers to 'circumstances.'

² Wolff, 'in Pylæa'—literal, to the destruction of the sense. Stock, 'consessu Pylæa.' The meaning is, 'the Amphyctionic council held near Thermopylæ.'

must want his assistance. But if either his own deputies¹ to the council, or those of his allies, were to take the lead in the matter, he conceived that both the Thessalians and the Thebans would suspect the whole affair, and that all parties would be put on their guard. But if an Athenian did it, and one of yourselves, his adversaries, then he reckoned upon his scheme being easily concealed²; and so it turned out³.

¹ *ιερομνήμονες*—presidents over sacrifices; a sort of prefect *in sacris*. Francis and Leland 'deputies.' The Greek is, 'Priests whom he had sent.' Wollf, 'Assessors.'

" This elliptical passage is a good example of the difficulty of reading Δ, even when his words are, as they generally are, very easy Greek taken singly. They are all so full of meaning and so few in number, that each is absolutely necessary to the sense; and they are so connected with the preceding sentences, that they cannot be understood if taken apart: *ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπύρως λήσιν.*

³ Leland's prolixity and looseness in this whole passage are quite intolerable--*ἵπερ συνεβη*, 'Thus he reasoned, and thus was the event.' He then inserts these other words, without a shadow of authority in the Greek. 'Here stands the man who seized the advantage of' (your inattention). Really if Δ was so meagre an orator, had so little power of bringing out his meaning, and knew so ill how to make an impression, that his translators are forced to help him out of their own stores, we should transfer to them the admiration which five-and-twenty centuries

How, then, did he effect his purpose? He hired this man; and, no one foreseeing what was to happen, as I imagine, nor taking any precaution (as generally happens with you), he was named Amphyctionic deputy, and chosen, three or four electors only voting. But as soon as he was armed with the authority of the state, he proceeded to the Amphyctionic council, and, throwing aside and neglecting all other business, despatched that for which he had been hired. Putting together and repeating over a string of fair phrases and old stories, about the purpose for which the Cirrhæan territory was originally consecrated, he persuades the priests, men unused to rhetoric and not aware of what was coming to pass, that they should resolve to walk the boundaries of the district which the Amphissæans maintained they cultivated as their own, but which he contended was parcel of the sacred territory, while the Locrians neither instituted any suit against us nor advanced any of those pretensions now falsely urged by him. Thus you will perceive from hence that it was not competent for the Locrians

have appropriated to the great master of eloquence. Dawson too must make his contribution to the needy Greek, who says only 'μισθοῦται τούτον'; but the translator will have it 'bribing this my worthy accuser.'

to prosecute a suit against the country without a previous citation. But who ever cited you? In what year¹? Name me the man who knows anything of it; point him out! You cannot, Æschines—but you abused us by this futile and false pretence.

When, therefore, the Amphyctions were surveying the territory, according to his suggestions, the Locrians fell upon them, and had well nigh put them all to the sword²; they also captured some of the priest deputies. But, as

¹ ἐπὶ ποίας ἀρχῆς, 'in what archonship,' literally. But Leland has it, quite gratuitously, 'Produce the record of this citation.' As if citations were entered of record in Athens. This portion of his translation is more loose and paraphrastical than any other, and often very incorrect.

² κατακοντίζω is to spear, though the spear may be thrown. Francis makes the Locrians bowmen, for he says, 'arrows.' Wolff, 'jaculis conficiunt.' Dawson is here intolerable; 'poured such a shower of arrows upon them that they had nearly entirely destroyed them; and this is the way to translate the most terse and concise of all orators, when he only has said μικροῦ μὲν ἅπαντας κατηκόντισαν--'well nigh speared them all.' Leland is not much more chaste--'were assaulted with a violence which had well nigh proved fatal to them all.' The violence is best shown by the thing done, and 'putting to the sword,' with 'fell upon,' the literal as well as idiomatic version of προσπесόντες, expresses the violence as well as extent of the onslaught.

soon as remonstrances and hostilities with the Amphissæans arose from these proceedings, Cottyphus at first was put at the head of Amphyc-tionic troops only; as, however, some of the contingents never came, and those which came did nothing, the men suborned for the work, the old traitors of Thessaly and other states, forthwith were all busied in obtaining the chief command for Philip at the next assembly; and for this they found specious enough pretexts; for they said that it was necessary either to contribute towards the maintenance of foreign troops and fine those who refused, or to choose him Generalissimo. Needs there more be said? By such arts he was chosen to the command; and, straightway collecting an army, and advancing as if upon Cirrhæa, he bade the Cirrhæans and Locrians a long farewell, and fell upon Elatea. If, therefore, the Thebans had not, instantly upon seeing this, changed their councils and sided with you, the whole war¹ would have fallen upon this country like a winter torrent². But, as it was, they for the

¹ *πρῶγμα* must here be rendered 'invasion,' or 'war,' to give the sense.

² *ὥσπερ χειμῶνας*— Francis, 'This whole project, like a winter's torrent, had precipitately fallen on the Republic.' Dawson, 'The whole fury of the war must have been

moment stayed his course; chiefly, Men of Athens, through the favour of Heaven towards you; but, as far as under Providence¹ it might depend on one man, it was done through me. But give me the documents and the dates of these several transactions, that you may see what troubles that vile head excited, and yet goes unpunished. Read me the document.

like a mighty torrent poured upon this Commonwealth.' Leland, 'Fallen like a thunder-storm' (a thunder-storm being rather a summer than a winter phenomenon—and *χειμάρρους* being plainly a torrent, not a storm). Wolff, 'tanquam torrens, universa belli moles,' &c. The meaning is, that the whole force or momentum of the movement would have been near Athens. This passage is of great beauty and picturesque effect: the diction is admirable; and some critics have observed that there is an onomatopœia, the sound imitating the discordant rushing of a broken torrent. Tourreil, by far the best of the French translators, is of this opinion, and adds, that this beauty cannot be transferred into the French. Not so deems M. Planche, who flatters himself 'avoir rendu à-peu-près l'harmonie du Grec.' There is no disputing upon a man's sense of distance; but let the reader judge, the following being the approximation to Δ. 'Soit que l'effort de la guerre serait venu fondre sur Athènes avec la rapidité d'un torrent.' Certainly, if the accumulation of words were all that was wanting, our Frenchman has beaten the Greek in the proportion of nine to four. For the rest, the translation is closer here and better than usual.

¹ *εἴρα* clearly here has this sense.

DECREE OF THE AMPHYCTIONS.

In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the Spring Council—It hath pleased the Deputies and Assessors of the Amphyctions and the Assembly thereof, seeing that the Amphisæans did enter upon the sacred territory and sow it and depasture it with their cattle, that the Deputies and the Assessors do repair thither and mark the boundaries with pillars, and warn the Amphisæans not to trespass thercon for the future.

SECOND DECREE.

In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the Spring Council—Seeing that the People of Amphissa, having partitioned among themselves the sacred territory, do till the same, and depasture it with their cattle, and, when prohibited from so doing, did come with arms and resist by force the general Council of the Greek States, and did even wound sundry persons, among others Cottyphus the Arcadian, appointed Commander of the Amphyctions; it hath therefore pleased the Deputies and the Assessors of the said Amphyctions, and the Assembly thereof, that an

embassy be sent to Philip of Macedon, requiring him to succour Apollo and the Amphyctions, and not suffer this contempt of the God by the sacrilegious Amphisæans; and, to this end, that the Greek states attending the Amphyctionic meeting do elect him Generalissimo and Dictator.

But read, also, the dates of these transactions; for they are the dates of this Æschines's attending as deputy.

DATES.

In the archonship of Mnesithides, the 16th day of Anthesterion.

Now give me the letter which, when the Thebans turned a deaf ear to him, Philip sent to his allies in Peloponnesus, that you may clearly see, even from this, how he concealed the true object of his proceedings, and of what he was planning against Greece and Thebes and you, and how he pretended all the while to be only executing the Decrees of the Amphyctionic Council. But he who furnished him with these opportunities and those pretexts—Æschines was the man. Read.

LETTER OF PHILIP.

Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Magistrates and the Assessors of the Peloponnesus, comprehended in the Confederacy, and to all our other Allies greeting: Whereas the Locrians, who are called Ozolans, and inhabit Amphissa, have profaned the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and, entering the sacred territory with an armed force, are laying it waste; we are minded to aid you in succouring the god, and to take vengeance on those who violate whatever is held sacred among men. Wherefore see you meet us in Phocis, armed and having forty days' provisions, this month of Lōos, as we call it, Boedromion as the Athenians, Panemus as the Corinthians have it. Of such as meet us with all their forces we will take council; of such as hold back, vengeance.—Farewell.

Do you see how he flies off from his own pretences, and takes refuge in the Amphyctions? Who, then, was his helpmate in all this? Who furnished those pretexts¹? Who was the main cause of the mischief that ensued? Was it not

¹ τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ἐνδούς. All translators render this supplied, or furnished. Possibly, however, it may be 'suggested,' from the force of ἐν.

this Æschines? Do not then, Athenians, go about¹ saying that Greece has suffered so much from a single man. Not from one, but from many abandoned men, in every one of her states, by Heaven and Earth! Of these certainly he is one; and, if I must speak the plain truth, I should not hesitate to call him the common pest of all that have since perished, men, districts, cities. For he that furnishes the seed of mischief, he it is that also causes the crop which springs up²; whom I marvel at your not turning instantly away from as soon as you beheld

¹ *περιιώντες*. Francis, 'Do not, as you walk and converse together, ascribe,' &c. Dawson, 'Don't, as you are walking together.' Wolff, 'Ne igitur passim dicatis.' Stock, 'Nolite inter deambulandum,' &c. It is singular how the pure, and also the literal idiom, is lost in all these versions 'Do not go about saying.' Leland is here as prolix and loose as possible, and omits wholly the *περιιώντες*. 'Yet, mistake me not' (a pure invention), 'when our public calamities are the subject of your conversation, say not,' &c.

² It is not *φύων*, but *φύεται κακῶν*; and Stock and Wolff, 'Enatae segetis malorum.' Leland, 'whole harvest of mischief.' Dawson, 'The sower of the seed is the father of the harvest,' which is certainly happily enough rendered. All these persons suppose the meaning to be a crop of evils; but it may be, weeds, bad growth; the Latin and Greek, like the French, having no word for weeds.

him. But a thick darkness¹ would seem to be thrown between the truth and you.

It has thus come to pass that, in touching upon the things which he did against the interests of the country, I have arrived at the part of my own conduct which he opposed; and this you will of course listen to for many reasons, but chiefly, Athenians, because it would be scandalous if, I having borne the labour of my actions in your service, you should refuse to undergo that of hearing my words in relating them.

When I saw the Thebans, and almost saw yourselves, so led away by Philip's partisans and bribed agents in the two countries, that both of you were overlooking and taking on one precaution against your real danger, which demanded all your care, the allowing Philip's aggrandisement, while you were quite ready for mutual enmity and collision, I assiduously en-

¹ πολὺ τι σκότος—some thick darkness. Francis 'thick and impenetrable darkness.' Dawson will have a double paraphrase, 'Clouds of impervious darkness have intercepted the light rays of truth from your eyes.' But Δ only says, 'some thick darkness is come between you and the truth.' Wolff, 'magnæ tenebræ apud vos objectæ sunt veritati.' Leland, 'thick cloud in which the truth lay concealed;' which is both an additional metaphor, and an inaccurate one.

deavoured to prevent this, conceiving such a course beneficial, not only upon my own judgment, but aware that Aristophon, and afterwards Eubulus, were desirous of promoting this good understanding, men who, differing from one another repeatedly upon other subjects, upon this were at all times agreed ; men whom you, crafty creature¹, persecuted² with your flattery when living, but when dead are not ashamed to run down. For, in your attacks upon my Theban policy, you are accusing them far more than me, they having approved of that alliance long before I did. But I come back to the period when, by Æschines causing the Amphissaean war, and his accomplices exciting ill-will towards the Thebans, Philip's attack upon this country was brought about, which indeed was the object of these men in bringing the two

¹ *κίναδος*, fox. Wolff, *vulpecula*. Stock, *bellua*. This of Stock loses the appropriate meaning of cunning implied in the Greek, and required by the conduct described Francis, 'vile animal.' Dawson, 'with your usual dissimulation.' Leland makes a new sentence of the word, and not at all a happy one. 'Yes! thou scoundrel to humanity.'

² The true meaning of the Greek *παρηκολούθεις*, following close - keeping up with is lost by all the English translators except Leland. Wolff has it well 'sectabaris.'

states into collision ; and, had we not roused¹ ourselves, just before it was too late, we should never have been able to recover ourselves—to such a state had these men reduced our affairs. But what the dispositions of the powers were towards each other in that crisis, you shall see from the Decrees and the Correspondence. Produce these, then, and read them.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Heropythus, the 26th of Elaphobolion, and the presidency of the

¹ The Greek is a fine compound word ; *προεξαισταναι* is to rise up, or start up, before another, or before an event, i.e., before it is too late. This meaning is poorly compensated by substituting for it gratuitously ‘a lethargy,’ as Francis has done. ‘Roused us from our lethargy,’ or even ‘seasonably,’ as Dawson has it. Leland only has ‘suddenly awakened ;’ but adds, ‘to a vigorous exertion of our powers :’ and then for οἱδ’ ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοῖς ἂν ἡδυνήθημεν, ‘the danger must have overwhelmed us’—which is possibly the effect of what Δ says, but not the thing itself, the sense of *αναλαβεῖν* being, to recover when just going to fall. Wolff, as usual, is correct : ‘nisi paullo antè evigilassetis.’ It is singular that the *μικρόν* should not have called the attention of the others to the true meaning of the phrase ; but they leave it out by common consent. In one particular Wolff is wrong like the rest ; he makes Δ say ‘awakened,’ when he only says, ‘started up.’ The sleep they have all made him a free gift of.

Erechthean tribe, by the advice of the Senate and the Strategi. Whereas Philip hath occupied certain of the neighbouring states, and is now laying waste some of them, and finally is preparing to invade Attica, accounting for nothing the treaties between us subsisting, and resolved to violate at once his oaths and the peace, in breach of the faith mutually pledged; it hath pleased the Senate and People to despatch a herald and ambassadors to him, who may deal with him and exhort him more especially that he maintain the relations of amity and the treaties subsisting betwixt us; or, if not, that time be given this country to deliberate, and a truce made until the month of Thargelion. Simus, of Anagyra; Euthydemus, of Phlya; Bulagoras, of Alopecia, are chosen from the Senate.

SECOND DECREE.

In the archonship of Hieropythus, the last day of Munychion, by the advice of the Polymarchus: Whereas Philip is doing his endeavour to place the Thebans at variance with us, and is preparing with all his forces to march on those places which lie nearest to Attica¹,

¹ To wit, Bæotia.

in violation of the treaties subsisting between us; it hath pleased the Senatè and People that there be sent to him a herald and ambassadors who may urge and call upon him to conclude a truce, in order that the Commonwealth may have time conveniently to deliberate, seeing that it hath not seemed expedient to provide merely ordinary means of defence¹. Of the

¹ The clause thus rendered is obscure, and possibly was intended to convey an obscure hint or threat, without irrevocably committing the state. *Καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων.* Wolff seems to seize the spirit of it in saying, 'Nunc enim eum (populum) non instituisse opem ferre in ullâ re moderatâ.' Leland and Dawson very paraphrastically have a similar though less obscure meaning; but Stock takes the opposite of this sense, and has it, 'Non censuit vel mediocre quidem auxilium ferre se oportere.' There seems certainly some doubt of the meaning, for both constructions suit the context, and the words are susceptible of both. This passage has created much embarrassment to commentators. Taylor holds it incapable of sense; after citing four several translations, he says 'attamen deploratus valde est textus,' and adds that it admits of none of the versions given. Wolff, after asking who is meant, whether Philip or the Athenians, and what the words *ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων* can mean, suggests, as a mere query, whether it may not be, 'if Philip behaves moderately, the Athenians will not oppose him;' and then cites three translations, all different from those quoted by Taylor. He observes too, somewhat archly, on the comfortable lot of Aretinus, who had to deal with a MS. which omitted all the docu-

Senate were appointed ambassadors, Nearchus, son of Sozinomus; Polycrates, son of Epiphron. Of the people was named herald Eunomus, of Anaphlystus.

Now read the Answers also.

ANSWER TO THE ATHENIANS.

Philip, King of Macedon, to the Senate and the People of Athens greeting: Of the dispositions which ye have from the first had towards us I am nowise ignorant, nor of what pains you take in the design of drawing over to your side the Thessalians and Thebans, and the Bœotians also. But when these are found to judge more wisely, and to decline casting their lot with yours¹, consulting their own interests,

ments, 'Aretinus magnum fructum cepit sine codicibus,' &c. Reiske (ii. 511) gives, at much length, a commentary which corresponds to Wolff's suggestion, the opposition to Philip being in fact sending aid to the Thebans. Reiske and Schäfer adopt Wolff's suggestion, which perhaps, after all, is the sound one, if the text is sound.

¹ It is strange that Wolff, so abstemious of paraphrase, and still more of additions, should have intruded 'vobisque subicere,' &c.; Δ having only said, ἐφ' ὑμῶν ποιήσασθαι αἴρεσιν. Stock makes the meaning the same, but without any clause added—'vobis submittere judicia

then you change your course, send to me ambassadors and a herald, remind me of treaties, and ask for a truce, you having been in no one thing injured by us. Nevertheless, having heard your ambassadors, I accede to your request, and am ready to make the truce, provided you will send away those who give you evil council, and mark them with the disgrace which they deserve.—Farewell¹.

ANSWER TO THE THEBANS.

Philip, King of Macedon, to the Senate and People of Thebes, greeting: I have received your letter, in which you desire to renew our amity and peace. Yet I hear that the Athenians are striving with all their might to make you assent to their requests. At first I accused you of being led away by the prospects

sua.' The text seems to give the influence which Athens would have in the event of the Thessalians, &c., joining her.

¹ This great man's superiority is manifest here as usual. He first, in plain, elegant, and choice, but dignified and cutting language, exposes the conduct of the Athenians; and then yields as if to their submissive prayers, as he was probably advised by his party at Athens, for his and their interest, in order to strengthen their hands, and inflict a blow on their adversaries.

which they held out for the future to follow their party. But now that I find you rather seeking to live at peace with us yourselves than to follow the counsels of others, I rejoice thereat, and willingly commend you on many accounts, but more especially for pursuing the safer counsels, and keeping in amity with us, which will, I hope, be of no small moment to you, if you shall persevere in the same resolution.—Farewell!

Having thus set the different states at variance with each other, by the agency of these men, Philip, elated with those decrees and those answers, advanced with his army, and occupied Elatea, as if assured that, come what come might¹, you and the Thebans never would agree. The consternation into which the city² was instantly thrown, you all know;

¹ This seems the true sense of a very disputed passage, and agrees in the main with Tournell, and Wolff, and Stock. See, however, Reiske, Ap. Crit. i. 273.

² City is here used for πόλις, instead of country, because the striking narrative that follows (and few historical pieces can bear a comparison with it for picturesque effect) relates to the streets of Athens itself. This passage is lavishly but not excessively praised by all the great critics—Longinus, and the Halicarnassian especially.

but it may be as well you should hear the most important particulars. It was evening¹. A messenger came to acquaint the Prytanes that Elatea was taken; whereupon some of them, instantly starting² from the table at which they were sitting, cleared the booths in the Forum, and set fire to their wicker coverings; others summoned the Generals of the State, and ordered the alarum to be sounded. The city was filled with consternation. When the next day broke, the Prytanes convoked the Senate in the Senate House: you repaired to your own assembly; and before they could adopt any measure, or even enter upon their

¹ *ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν*. The *γὰρ* here clearly illustrates the use of that as sometimes being a connecting particle, and not indicating reasoning any more than *μὲν* or *δέ* necessarily do. The sentence, however, is a fine introduction of this noble narrative.

² *ἐξαναστάντες δειπνοῦντες*. Francis, 'Rising from supper.' Dawson, 'Great numbers of people at their suppers arising,' &c., 'drove away the brokers.' Δ having said nothing of brokers, but only 'those in the booths.' Longinus expressly praises this passage for the omission of superfluous particulars; and Δ, to show the sudden rising, inserts *δειπνοῦντες*. Surely rising from table is enough for this purpose. The use of the same word here applied to *board*, which all the translators had before applied to *bed*, might have warned them of their error.

deliberations, the whole people had seated themselves upon the hill¹. And now, when the Senators came forth, and the Prytanes announced the intelligence, and presented the bearer of it, and he had himself related it, the herald made proclamation, If any one desired to be heard? No man stood forward. He repeated the proclamation again and again. No person rose the more, though all the Generals and all the Orators were present, and though the cries of our common country were heard, imploring some one to lift his voice and save her. For² the voice of the

¹ ἄνω καθήκον. Francis attacks Turreil for 'the pretty bold addition' of 'selon l'usage de la place,' and yet he himself says, 'in their usual court,' and says nothing of ἄνω, the difficulty of the passage. Wolff has only 'jam considerat.' Stock, 'sursum,' which is not intelligible without more. Leland, 'taken their places above.' Dawson, 'in the gallery.' Hederic gives 'in loco' for one meaning of ἄνω, but without authority. It may mean 'on the steps;' or it may refer to the structure of the place; the people sitting above. The meaning, however, rather seems to be aloft, i.e., on the hill 'Pnyx,' where the assemblies were held, which is here accordingly adopted, on Dr. Arnold's suggestion.

² Would not one more practised in handling figures than Δ confessedly was, have avoided the feebleness of this explanatory passage, after the noble metaphor that precedes, by making the country 'call out with the voice

herald, in the solemn form ordained by law, may well be deemed the general voice of the country. And truly, if the only qualification to come forward then had been an anxiety for the public safety, all of you, and every other Athenian too, would have risen and ascended the Bema¹; for I am well aware that all were anxious to save the State. If wealth had been the qualification, we might have had the three hundred; if both wealth and patriotism², those

of the herald'—which had rendered all explanation or defence of the figure unnecessary.

¹ Rostrum is neither Greek nor English nor is it indeed the Latin word either; and, as we happily have no oratorical engine of the kind, it can hardly be naturalized as a word with us. It seems well to use *βῆμα* itself then. When we have called this an engine of oratory, *ῥητορικόν*, ought we not rather to prefix the *a* privativum? It is true Δ spoke from this height, so fatal to all modern eloquence; but see the French Chambers, and say if, in the country of Dupin, and Berryer, and Thiers, there wants more than an axe laid to the root of the Tribune to complete the triumph of eloquence in France, unless, indeed, it be to throw the book of inscription into the same fire that consumes the Tribune? My learned friend, Mr. Morritt, informs me that the term Bema is used by antiquaries to denote the raised part of the floor in cathedrals, in front of the altar; and it is possible that in Athens the *βῆμα* may only have been such an elevation, and not a pulpit, as at Rome formerly, and Paris.

² The union of these making munificence, that word

who, in the sequel, became such ample voluntary contributors. But that was, manifestly, the crisis,—that the day not merely for a wealthy and patriotic individual to bear apart, but for one who had, from the very first, kept pace with the progress of affairs, and happily penetrated the motives of the conduct and the designs of Philip. For a man unacquainted with these,—one who had not anxiously watched them from their first appearance,—might be ever so rich and ever so zealous, and yet be none the more likely to descry the best course, and to give you the soundest counsel. In that day, then, such a man was I,—and, standing up, I spoke to you, what you must once more attentively listen to, with two views: first, that you may perceive how, alone, of all the Orators and Statesmen, I did not abandon the post of Patriotism in the hour of peril, but, both by my words and my actions, discharged my duty to you in the last emergency;—next, that, at the expense of a little time, you may acquire a fuller insight into our whole polity for the future¹.

would have sufficed had not Δ given ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, and then specified both εὐνοὺς and πλούσιους.

¹ This speech is strikingly different in diction and far easier than Δ's ordinary style. Did this happen through

I conceived, then (I said), that those who were in so great a consternation at the idea of the Thebans being friendly to Philip, were unacquainted with the real state of affairs; for I knew full well that, were this apprehension well founded, we should not now hear of him being in Elatea, but upon our own frontiers; I knew for certain, however, that he was come to get matters in Thebes ready for him. But how the case stands, said I, hear now from me. All those Thebans, whom he has been able either to bribe by gold or delude by craft, he has at his command; but those who, from the first, have resisted him, and are now opposing him, he can in no way move. What, then, does he now meditate, and with what view has he seized on Elatea? It is that, displaying his forces in our neighbourhood, and marching up his troops, he may at once elevate and inspirit his friends, and strike terror into his adversaries, and that they, being overawed, may be induced, or may be compelled, to make concessions which they now refuse. If then, I said, we are, in these circumstances, resolved to bear in mind whatever

accident, or did he use a plainer language purposely, at that crisis, with the Athenians?

wrongs the Thebans may have done us aforetime, and to distrust them as taking part with our enemies, we shall, in the first place, be doing the very thing that Philip is praying for, and next, I fear me lest they who now are his adversaries may join him, and, all Philippizing after the same fashion, both Thebans and Philip may invade Attica. But if you will be advised by me, and consider well what I am about to state instead of quarrelling with it, then it may come to pass, I conceive, both that you should approve of my counsels, and that I should dispel the dangers which surround the country. What, then, do I recommend? First of all, to dissipate the prevailing alarm; then to change its direction, and all be alarmed about the Thebans, for they are far nearer a catastrophe than we, and the peril is much closer upon them than upon us; and then, that the young men¹ and the cavalry marching upon Eleusis should prove to all Greece that you are in arms, and that your partisans at Thebes may have an equal power to maintain their cause when they find you are as ready and as willing to succour the

¹ Citizens of military age. The *ἰππεῖς*, too, were properly an order like the Roman equites.

asserters of liberty, if attacked, as Philip was to aid with his forces in Elatea those who were selling their country to him. Next, I require that ten Ambassadors be chosen by vote, and that they, with the Commanders, have authority to determine the time both of their arrival and of their setting out. But when the Ambassadors come to Thebes, how do I recommend that they should conduct the affair? Give me now your whole attention. Require nothing of the Thebans (for at this time it would be shameful), but promise whatever succour they demand, they being in the most extreme danger, and we better able than they to foresee the result; so that, if they agree with us and take our advice, we shall both carry our point and act upon a plan worthy of the state; but if we should happen to fail in this object, then they will have themselves to blame for their errors, and by us nothing base, nothing unworthy, will have been done.

Having said thus much, and more to the like effect, I sat down. All assenting, no one saying one word to the contrary, not only did I make this speech, but I propounded a decree; not only did I propound a decree, but I went ambassador; not only went I ambassador, but

I persuaded the Thebans ; and from the first, throughout the whole transaction, down to the end, I persevered, and gave myself up, in your service, without any reserve, to confront the perils that surrounded the country¹.

¹ The exquisite diction of this justly celebrated passage is altogether inimitable in our language. The *μέν* and *δέ*, the *οὐκ* and *οὐδέ*, are wholly Greek, and wholly untranslatable. We might come nearer the original indeed than is done with 'not only,' and 'but,' by using a double negative: thus, 'I did not make a speech, and not make a motion; nor make a motion, and not go ambassador; nor go ambassador, and not persuade the Thebans;' but the double negative is always more or less repugnant to our idiom. Possibly this turn may reconcile it:— 'I was not the man to make a speech, and not carry a decree; nor to carry a decree, and not go ambassador; nor to go ambassador, and not convince the Theban people.' If the sense be rendered by 'without,' we are no nearer the original than by the course taken in the text. Thus, 'I did not make a speech without making a motion; nor did I,' &c. However, the admitted difficulty, or rather impossibility, of approaching near the Greek, is no reason for Francis and Dawson keeping at so great and unnecessary a distance from it. Francis, neglecting the technical meaning of *ἐγγραφά* "propose, or even carry, a decree," makes *εἶπον* 'give advice in words,' *ἐγγραφά*, 'propose it in writing;' which, in Athens, where so few could read, would have been an antichmax. Dawson says, 'formally proposed in writing.' Wolff, for the sake of being literal, 'scriberem.' Leland is right,— 'proposing a decree in form;' and he uses the turn of 'without proposing,' &c. But 'peccat ad extremum.'

Bring me now the Decree made at the time. But would you, Æschines, have me show what description we are to give of you on

‘From first to last my conduct was uniform, my perseverance invariable, my whole powers entirely devoted to repel the dangers then encompassing the State.’ This is not so near as the paraphrase of Francis and Dawson, and not half so concise or so spirited. ‘I began, I continued, I perfected the work, and for your service,’ &c., to which there is but this objection, that it is not the figure of Δ. Wolff has, in a manner very unusual with him, introduced a new idea wholly unwarranted by the Greek. He connects each member of the climax with the succeeding one: thus, ‘non hæc *ita* dixi *ut* non scriberem; neque *ita* scripsi *ut* legationem non obirem,’ &c. There is no advantage whatever in this towards bringing out the meaning; and it is quite a departure from the text. Francis renders *συνεπαίνεσθαι* ‘applauded;’ but if all applauded, what follows, ‘no one objecting,’ would be an anticlimax. Leland is equally wrong. The word, too, means to assent as well as applaud.

Cicero (pro Mil.) closely imitates this famous passage. ‘Neque vero se populo solum sed etiam senatui commisit; neque senatui modo, sed etiam publicis præsidiis et armis; neque his tantum verum etiam ejus potestati cui Senatus totam rempublicam, omnem Italiæ pacem, cuncta populi Romani arma commiserat.’ What follows is finer still, and very argumentative. It is pretty obvious from this that, in his translation of the great orator, unfortunately lost, Cicero had adopted the method employed in the text for rendering the double negative - namely, ‘not only’—‘but.’ We may remark, in passing, that there is none of Cicero’s orations in which he comes so near Δ as

that day, and what of myself? Would you have me describe myself as the Batalus which you, in contempt and contumely, call me – you as a hero, nor of the common sort, but one of those whom we see on the stage, Cresphontes, or Creon, or Ænomaus, him whose part you, wretch, mangled at Colyttus by your vile acting¹? Well, then, in that crisis, I, the Batalus of Parania, showed myself a more useful citizen of the State than you, the Ænomaus of Cothocis. You, indeed, never were of any service in any manner of way, while I did all that

this magnificent one, pro Mil.; none in which he reasons so closely, or is so entirely occupied with the subject. Cicero, in the *Rhet. (ad Herenn.)*, lib. iv. cap. 25, dwells on the figure, and gives examples, but makes no reference to this most celebrated one in Δ. Quintilian does, and gives a translation. ‘Nec hæc dixi quidem, sed nec scripsi; nec scripsi quidem, sed nec obii legationem; nec obii quidem, sed nec persuasi Thebanis,’ a version in which the sense is lost by the attempt to be literal, as in *scripsi* and *obii quidem*.

¹ *κακὸς κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας*. This is fine; the last word is ‘wearing down’—‘tearing to tatters’—‘mangling, murdering the part.’ Francis, ‘whom you tragically murdered in one of our villages by your representation.’ Why not at Colyttus? and why is the man and not the part to be murdered? Leland wholly mistakes the sense of *ἐπέτριψας*, making it to be that Æschines was punished by ‘heavy stripes for his vile performance.’

was incumbent upon a patriot. Read the Decree.

DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES¹.

In the archonship of Nausicles, and the presidency of the Ajax tribe, and on the 16th of Scirophorion, upon the proposition of Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of Pæania: Forasmuch as it is manifest, that Philip King of Macedon hath aforetime broken the treaties of peace by him made with the People of Athens, in contempt of his oaths and of all that is by all the Greeks held most sacred², and hath seized upon towns in no way belonging to him, and some indeed belonging to the Athenians he hath captured, albeit he had from the People of Athens received

¹ The style of this piece is full of dignity, and the diction perfectly simple as well as chaste, with the solemnity of a state paper, but not the wordiness or technicality. To attempt a translation of it, after the admirable one of Mr. Justice Williams (Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvi. p. 489), is a hard task. Leland's version is not bad in general, though he every here and there intrudes new matter, as if Δ's were not forcible enough; and in several places omits the true sense, as where he renders *εἰσεμμένους καὶ θύσαντας*, 'with due veneration,' and 'imploping aid,' whereas it is praying and sacrificing.

² *δικαία εἶναι* - literally, rightful or just but the text gives our established and almost technical phrase.

no kind of injury; and forasmuch as he is at this present time waxing greater both in force and in cruelty, for some of the Greek towns he garrisons with his troops, overthrowing their constitutions; others he razes to the ground, selling their inhabitants as slaves¹; in some he replaces the Greeks with Barbarians, letting them loose upon the temples and the tombs, in no one particular acting otherwise than might be expected from his country and his character, and abusing the fortune which, for the moment, he enjoys, nor mindful how, from an inconsiderable and very ordinary person², he hath

¹ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκήπτει. There are no finer nor any more comprehensive words in any tongue. Literally, 'dug up the very walls after carrying away the inhabitants into slavery.' All this is expressed; for ἐξ shows the carrying off, ἀνδραποδίζω being to make slaves of the men, and κατασκήπτω is to dig under or into the earth, to subvert by digging under. Francis only has 'enslaving' for the former word, though he well renders the latter by 'razing to the foundations.' Dawson-- 'treating the inhabitants as vassals and slaves,' a feeble tautology, and also an omission of the meaning in part. Leland - enslaving - and razing their walls, neither being accurate. Wolff, Exscindit, et sub coronâ vendit.

² The original is fine to express contempt - μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος, a small and ordinary man - a small, a Mr. Anybody-kind-of-man. Wolff, 'parvo et quolibet' Francis, 'inconsiderable and obscure.' Dawson, same. Leland, 'mean origin.'

risen to his present greatness, past all hope—and although, while the People of Athens only saw him seizing upon Barbarian and unappropriated¹ towns, they might consider no great wrong was done them, yet, when they now perceive the Greek cities themselves, some insulted, some destroyed, they deem it monstrous and utterly unworthy of the glory of their ancestors to stand by and witness the slavery of Greece—Now, therefore, it hath pleased the Senate and People of Athens, after supplicating and propitiating the gods and heroes who guard the city and the Athenian territories, and calling to mind the virtues of their forefathers, who ever set more value on the protection of

¹ *βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας*. The Frenchman (and Stock agrees apparently) mistakes this apparently, rendering it as if the towns were Barbarian and dependent on Athens, and that therefore the Athenians did not mind an injury only affecting themselves—a magnanimity never affected at Athens. But the 'Barbarian' and 'dependent' is of itself an answer to this. Leland, 'detached from Greece.' Francis and Dawson agree. Dawson, 'governed by their own particular laws.' Wolff's 'privata' is hardly sense, though, if the word will bear it, the meaning is right.—Reiske, ii. 514, cannot understand *ἰδίας*, or, as he renders it, 'propria'—and asks *cui propria?* suspecting a corrupt text. Taylor justly says, 'idem ac *αὐτονόμους*—sui juris.' Wolff explains his 'privata' by 'nullâ societate cum Græcis conjuncta.'—Reiske, Ap. Crit. i. 280.

Grecian liberty than on the defence of their own country, to launch two hundred galleys, and that the Admiral cruise within the Straits of Thermopylæ; that the General and the Commander of the cavalry march the horse and foot to Eleusis, and that Ambassadors be sent to the other Greek states, but first of all to Thebes, Philip being nearest to that country, with the view of calling upon the Thebans un-awed by him to defend their own independence and that of Greece at large, and to assure them that the People of Athens, bearing them no grudge on account of any untoward circumstances which may have occurred, will succour them with troops, and money, and weapons for light and for heavy armed troops, as well aware that, although it is a noble thing for Greeks to contend one with another for supremacy, yet to be ruled by an alien¹ bred man, and by him stripped of the sovereignty, is unworthy both of the glory of the Greeks and the valour of their ancestors; moreover, that the Athenian people do not look upon the Thebans as aliens

¹ The solemn and earnest contempt of the stranger is here very striking—*ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου*—an alien man, a foreign-born man, an alien-bred man, is the most near: literally, a man of another tribe—of none of the Athenian tribes.

either in race or in country, but call to mind the services rendered to the ancestors of the Thebans by their own ancestors, when they restored the descendants of Hercules, whom the Peloponnesians were stripping of their hereditary dominions, and defeated by force of arms those who attempted to resist them; and further, that we afforded an asylum to Œdipus and his comrades in banishment, beside many other passages of kindness and which are honourable to us in our intercourse with the Thebans. Wherefore the People of Athens will not be wanting towards their interests and those of the other Greeks, but will treat with them for concluding an alliance offensive and defensive¹, mutual naturalization, and an interchange of ratifications upon oath. Ambassadors appointed—Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania; Hyperides, son of Cleander of Sphettus; Mnesitheides, son of Antiphanes of Phrearium; Democrates, son of Sophilus of Phlya; Callæschrus, son of Diotimus of Cothocis.

¹ *συμμαχίας* is more than alliance—it is alliance for fighting together. It must be admitted, however, that we hardly find any mere alliance, *φιλία*, of old; and *φιλία* seems itself rather to mean being at peace and neutral, than allied. Our translation of *συμμαχία* in the text is clearly the literal one.

Such was the commencement, such the first framework, of our measures with relation to Thebes, the former policy of Æschines's party having driven the two countries to mutual enmity, and hatred, and distrust. This Decree caused the dangers which encompassed the country to pass away like a cloud¹. It was the duty of a good citizen, if he had any better plan, to propound it openly at the time, and not to cast reflections now. For a statesman and a partisan, in no other particular resembling each other, differ most of all in this, that the one gives his counsels before the event, and makes himself accountable to his followers², to

¹ ὥσπερ νέφος. This passage, or rather phrase, is celebrated, but not therefore the better rendered by translators. Dawson, 'scattered and driven away like a cloud before the wind.' Francis makes the phrase passive, passed 'away like a cloud, and was dissipated.' Leland adds figures as well as words, and makes it passive also—'the danger which hung lowering over our state was in an instant dissipated like a cloud.' Nothing can be worse. In rendering a passage, in composing which every syllable was weighed, the more literal we are, the better, surely. If those who have 'dispel,' and 'disperse,' and 'scatter' be right, how comes it that Δ did not know such words as διωρέω, διησκηδιάζω, διασπείρω, διακροτέω (displode), διασεύω, (discuss)? But he says παρελθεῖν, to pass by, or away, or over head.

² Wolff makes πισθεῖσι govern τῇ τύχῃ—against all other

fortune, to emergencies, to any one that pleases; while the other, holding his peace when he should speak out, finds fault for the first time the instant that anything goes wrong. That then, as I have said, was the occasion for a man to come forward, who studied the interests of the country, and had sound advice to tender. But I will go to such an excess of candour¹ as

authority. Some have made the liability be *for* and not *to*; but the construction will not bear this; because, if it had been *for*, the genitive or the dative with *ἐπί* would have been used. Dawson makes the liability be *to* the followers and any one that chose, *for* fortune and emergencies; a sense wholly gratuitous, and which makes the dative mean two several things in the same sentence. Leland's translating *συκοφάντης*, sycophant, seems quite incomprehensible; he might as well call a *player* a *hypocrite*, or a *peasant* a *villain*. Francis and Dawson make *σίμβουλος* merely an adviser; whereas it means here an honest or *bonâ fide* adviser, as opposed to a factious or selfish person seeking his own interest under cover of giving advice. 'Statesman' being used in the text with 'partisan' opposed, the former is eulogistic, and the latter dyslogistic.

¹ *τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιῶμαι*—This cannot be rendered safely by the mere words, I will make me such an hyperbole—or, I will go me to such a pitch. Leland has the paraphrase, 'Such is my confidence in the abundant merits of my cause.' Wolff, 'tam prolixè ago.' Dawson's, 'I will venture to say,' is nearer the mark – and Francis's 'I will boldly venture to affirm.' But all these fall short of the Greek phrase, which implies some excess or extravagance.

at once to confess I was in the wrong, if even now any person will point out a better course, or show now that any other could then have been taken than the one I pursued. For if there be anything which any one can now descry that ought then to have been done, of that thing I will admit I ought not to have been unaware. But if there be nothing¹ that either was feasible, or that any man in any way can even at this day state, what behoved it a councillor to advise? Was he not bound to choose the only course which presented itself, and was within our reach²? That, then, did I, when the herald, Æschines, demanded, Who desires to speak? Not, Who wants to blame the past?

¹ The negatives in abundance here merit attention. There are in the Greek no less than five in a line and a half: the intensity thus produced is very striking and truly Demosthenean. In a modern assembly it would be perfectly successful, and is often tried with effect. 'If there is nothing, if there was nothing, if no man can in no way whatever at this hour, with all the benefits of experience, and wise after the event, tell,' &c.; but still one negative is of necessity omitted from the structure of our language.

² *φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων*. Francis, 'visible and practicable.' Dawson, 'that occurred and appeared practicable.' Leland, not literal at all—'such measures as occurred,' leaving out one quality. Wolff, 'quæ esse viderentur quæque darentur.'

nor yet, Who is willing to guarantee the future? But, while in those times you sat speechless in the assembly, I stood forward to speak. But, if you spake not then, at least speak out now. Say what plan ought I to have fallen upon, or what occasion of benefiting the Commonwealth did I neglect; what alliance, what measure was there that I ought to have preferred pressing upon the people? But the past is ever forgotten by all men, nor does any one propose any counsel upon it; the future it is, or the present, that calls forth the capacity of a statesman. At that time, then, some of the calamities were approaching, others impended¹, to meet which only examine the course of my policy instead of declaiming upon the event. For the result of all human counsels

¹ The Greek description is here very fine; literally, 'At that time, then, some calamities as it seemed were going to happen at a future time (approached), but others were present (or at hand, or impending), in which (approaching calamities and present dangers) observe my choice of policy and don't blame the event.' Nothing can be more clear than this sense, and Wolff is as usual right. But Francis must say, 'the future threatened us with its terrors, the present oppressed us with its misfortunes; in these circumstances examine,' &c. Dawson makes the future the thing Δ was to provide against, and not the present.

must be as it may please Divine Providence ; but the line of his policy shows the perspicacity of the statesman. Lay not then the blame on me if it was Philip's fortune to win the battle ; for this depended on Heaven, not on me. But, if I did not adopt all possible expedients, according to all human calculation—if I did not strictly and strenuously persevere in them, and with exertions above my strength—or if I did not insist upon those measures which were glorious for the country, and worthy of her renown, and necessary for her safety¹—show me that, and then impeach me when you please² ! But if the tempest, the hurricane³ which visited us was

¹ 'Worthy and necessary,' literally—but the sense seems to require being brought out as in the text ; though this is a licence hardly ever taken in the present translation.

² τ.τ' ἤδη—then immediately ;—the text however is almost the same, and is the English version. This passage is very fine, rapid, and spirited. Its success in our senate would be assured.

³ συμβίς—happened to—came over—attacked ; but visited may do, and is idiomatic ; σκηπτός certainly means a thunder-gust as well as a whirlwind—a common thunder it does not mean ; and, had Δ intended to say thunder, he certainly would not have left his meaning ambiguous—nor have first put thunder-storm, and then χεῖμῶν, tempest generally. Besides, a whirlwind is as sudden and much more sweeping than thunder. Leland and the others have

too mighty, not for us only, but for every other State in Greece, what was to be done? As if, when the owner¹ of a vessel has done everything that her safety required, and fitted her out with all that could secure her a prosperous voyage, and she encounters a storm, and her works labour and entirely give way, some one should charge him with the shipwreck; But I had not the command² of the ship, might he

thunder, and so has Wolff. Reiske considers the words *ἡ χειμών* as a various reading that has crept into the text, (ii. 516)—to which I incline.

¹ *ναύκληρος* certainly should here be shipowner by the sense,—and so all authorities read it. Yet the word means shipper, pilot, one whose lot is on ship-board—*naulerus*, *nocchiero*, is only pilot. *ἔμπορος* is one using other men's ships, and originally was not a merchant; for Homer, *Od. B. 319*, makes Telemachus say he is *ἔμπορος*, sailing in other men's ships, and *οὐ νηὸς ἐπήβολος*. *ναύαρχος* is an admiral, or commander, rather than a shipper or pilot. Δ however *must* here mean owner. Horace, to express the same thing, uses *mercator*, '*navim jactantibus Austris*,' though *naulerus* would have suited the verse as well—therefore he plainly avoided it, as not meaning shipowner. Calepin's *Polyglot* and other books translate *ναύκληρος*, *naulerus*, pilot.

² *ἐκυβέρνηων* properly refers to the office of the pilot or steersman; but 'command' is also used for that, and better suits the comparison here. The passage is a fine one, the comparison being close and well brought out; though the fact of the wreck is not stated, nor is it put, 'should a wreck follow;' but only the things leading to one are

say ; just so, I had not the command of your armies, nor was I master of Fortune, but Fortune mistress of all.

But consider this, and mark ; if such was our fate when we combated with the Thebans on our side, what had we to expect if, instead of having them for allies, they had joined Philip, which Æschines exhausted all his strength¹ to make them do ? And if, when the battle was fought three days' march from Attica, so great peril and such alarm beset the city, what would have been our prospects if the disaster had happened² close to our own territory ? Should we, think you, have been able to stand, to assemble, to breathe ? As it was, a single day, or two or three, contributed much to the safety of the city. But in the event I am supposing³ — It is, however, useless to recount things which we have been spared, through

described. It must be further observed that the comparison somewhat fails at the end ; for Fortune still would have governed the whole, even if the merchant had steered in the one case, or Δ had commanded in the other.

¹ Literally, 'raised all his voice.'

² *πλησίον* is inserted after *πou* by Reiske, his authority being apparently one of the five MSS. cited by Taylor, ii. 516, and Ap. Crit. i. 283. Wolff and most others omit this, and make the sense, *within* the country.

³ Francis omits this striking interruption,

the goodness of Heaven and the protection of the very alliance you are attacking¹. All these things, Judges, I address chiefly to you and to those who compose the outer circle of this audience; for as to this despicable creature, a short and simple statement will suffice.

If to you alone of all others, Æschines, the future had been revealed at the time of our public deliberations upon these matters, you were bound to disclose it; if you did not foresee it, you were responsible for being as ignorant as the rest of us. How dare you then accuse me on this score any more than I am to accuse you? So much better a citizen was I than you in those circumstances of which I am speaking (and of others for the present I say nothing), that I devoted myself to what all men deemed the best interests of the State, shrinking from no personal danger, nor so much as throwing away a thought upon it, while you gave no better advice, (if you had, mine would not have been followed,) nor did you lend your

¹ An anticlimax here is introduced, but with the view of clinching the argument against Æschines. It is as if Δ had said, 'Our escape is owing, under Providence, to the Theban alliance you attack.'

aid¹ in executing mine; but whatever the meanest and most disaffected person could do, that you are found throughout these transactions to have done. And thus, at one and the same time, Aristratus in Naxus and Aristolaus in Thasus, the inveterate enemies of this country, are condemning the friends of Athens, and at Athens Æschines is impeaching Demosthenes! Yet ought that man, whose renown lies in the misfortunes of Greece, rather to perish than accuse another; and that man cannot be a friend² to his country whose purposes are served by the same events as benefit her enemies. You prove this by all the life you lead, and all the things you do, and all the measures you propound, and all the measures you do not propound³. Is there

¹ *χρήσιμον παρέσχες*—made or showed yourself useful. Why Wolff has, contrary to his wonted closeness, both ‘studium’ and ‘utilitas,’ seems hard to tell.

² *εὖνον τῇ πατρίδι*—well disposed to the country—but Wolff unaccountably has ‘bonus civis et patriæ amans.’ Surely his text must have *πολίτης ἀγαθός* or *χρήσιμος*.

³ As *πολιτεύῃ* cannot be rendered by one word, it is necessary, in order to preserve the symmetry and force of the original, to render *ζῆς* and *ποιεῖς* by substantives also. This is a noble passage, and of a kind admirably suited to our parliamentary warfare. Such rapid invectives have the most certain success, and none the less for being plain,

anything in agitation for the interests of the country? Æschines is mute. Does anything go wrong, and disappoint expectations? Forth comes Æschines¹; as old fractures and sprains annoy us afresh the moment the body is stricken with disease.

But, since he dwells so much on the actual events, I will hazard a somewhat bold assertion², and let not any one, I pray, be staggered by its extravagance, but attend particularly to my statement. If the events of futurity had been manifest to all, and if all had foreseen them, and you, Æschines, had foretold them, and had bellowed out your protestations ever so vociferously, instead of never uttering a word—not even then ought the country to

and either unmixed with sarcasm, or having only a subdued sarcastic tone. In Δ, however, the sarcasm breaks out in full force at the end.

¹ Dawson chooses to make Æschines 'appear all in a rage,' and converts the ailments into 'eruptions and sores.' Francis, 'fractures and strains,' aright. Wolff, 'rupta et convulsa.' *σπασματα* may be cramps or spasms rather than sprains; but the latter are more likely to come out than spasms, which are not any accidents that can remain and lie dormant.

² *παράδοξον*. Wolff, 'admirabile.' Dawson and Francis, 'kind of paradox.' Leland, 'hazard a bold assertion.' The latter seems the better sense, but the other will also do.

have acted otherwise than she did, if she had any regard either for her glory, or her ancestry, or her posterity. Now indeed she is supposed to have been frustrated in her proceedings, the lot of all mortals, if Providence so wills it; but then, had she, after aspiring to the foremost place among the other States, abandoned the attempt, she would have borne the blame of delivering them all over to Philip. For, if she had given up without a struggle all that your forefathers encountered every danger to win¹, who but would have spurned² you, Æschines? Not the country indeed, not me. But what eyes, gracious God! should we have been able to lift up on any strangers coming to Athens, if things had stood in their present posture and Philip had been made general and master over all, while others than ourselves had borne the brunt of resisting such a consummation?—especially when in past times this country never preferred inglorious ease to the peril of illus-

¹ In the Greek there is here a double negative, for intense affirmation. We must render it affirmatively.

² κατέπτυσεν. Francis and Dawson take the literal meaning of 'spit upon;' but the former absurdly adds, 'with vileness and contempt,' of which the one word is mere nonsense, the other superfluous; for who spits on one in token of respect?

trious deeds? For which of the Greeks, which of the Barbarians, is ignorant that, both from the Thebans and from the Spartans who bore sway before them, ay, from the Persian king himself, permission would thankfully and cheerfully have been given to the country to take what she chose, and to keep her own, provided she would only submit to a master¹, and suffer some other State to head the Greeks? But this was felt neither to be national², nor bearable, nor natural to Athenians; nor could any one at any time persuade this country to join powerful wrongdoers and seek her own safety

¹ τὸ κελεύμενον ποιεῖν. This was the 'accursed thing' in the estimation of Greek pride—the doing another's bidding; but we cannot render it literally. Leland's 'receive law,' if expanded into 'receive the law from others,' would not be bad. Wolff's 'imperata faciet' does not render the sense; for the Greek words had, as it were, a technical meaning. .

² οὐ πάτρια, οὐδ' ἀνέκτα, οἷδ' ἔμφυτα. The text is literal enough, only that *πάτρια* seems to relate more to ancestry than 'national' does. Possibly it might be rendered 'Attic,' as we say 'English;' only that 'Attic' has another sense. The last word of the three is inborn—innate—relating to the people's own character and dispositions.—Francis, 'inconsistent with your innate love of virtue,' an intolerable circumlocution, which gets rid of all the force of the expression. Leland, 'unbecoming their descent, intolerable to their spirit, repugnant to their nature'—an amplification, certainly, but a happy one.

in slavery. Struggling for supremacy, and power, and glory, and confronting all hazards, she has lived through all ages of her history! And yourselves feel that this is noble and fitting your character, when you extol such conduct in your ancestors. Justly¹. For which of you is not astonished² at the virtue of those men, who could submit to leave this country and this city, and embark in their ships, rather than bow to a master?—choosing Themistocles, the adviser of the measure, for their commander, stoning to death Cyrus for recommending submission to tyranny³, and not himself only, but your wives stoning his wife? For the Athenians of those days did not go in quest of an orator or a leader through whom they might enjoy a prosperous slavery; they would not deign to live if the

¹ One word, εὐλόως, Dawson has been pleased to make into a whole sentence - 'And herein you have done nothing but what is just and generous.' *Quousque tandem?*

² ἀγίστατο is more than 'admire' (Francis and Wolff). Leland and Dawson's 'astonishment' comes nearer. It is a word of great intensity. 'Revere' is too calm a phrase. Δ is citing the greatest instance of patriotic devotion in ancient times, as the similar project of the Dutch was in modern.

³ ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις—listen to orders the same kind of phrase with κελεύόμενον ποιεῖν— but not so noted and technical.

life of liberty were denied them. Each of them thought that he was born, not for his father and his mother only, but for his country. What then? He who looks upon himself as only made for his parents, awaits his destined end in the course of nature ; but he who feels that he is born for his country too, will rather die than see her enslaved, and will account the insults and the disgrace which must needs await the citizens of a conquered state more frightful than death itself.

If then I should take upon me to affirm that it was I who made you entertain sentiments worthy of your forefathers, there lives not the man who could justly blame me. But I am now demonstrating that those measures were your own, and showing that the country had adopted those principles before I did, while however I assert that in the execution of each design I too had my share. But Æschines, impeaching my whole conduct and bidding you hold me cheap as the cause of the country's alarms and perils, would fain strip me of the credit at this moment, and thus deprive you of the glory ever after. For, if you condemn Ctesiphon on account of my¹ policy having

¹ It is strange that Wolff should omit the *ἐμὸν* in his

been wrong, you will be proved to have yourselves done wrong, instead of merely suffering under the dispensations of fortune. But it is not true! It is not true that you have done wrong, Men of Athens! in fighting the battle of all Greece for her freedom and salvation! No! By your forefathers, who for that cause rushed upon destruction at Marathon, and by those who stood in battle array at Plataea, and those who fought the sea-fight at Salamis, and by the warriors of Artemisium, and by all the others who now repose in the Sepulchres of the Nation—gallant men, and to all of whom, Æschines, the state decreed a public funeral, deeming that they too had earned such honours, not those only who had combated fortunately and had come off victorious—and with strict justice¹; for the duty of the brave had been

version, and make the *πολιτευσαμένον* apply to the *τουδί*, or Ctesiphon, which would really be nonsense.

¹ As *εἰκότως* had furnished Dawson with one sentence before, so here *δικαίως* gives him the occasion of inserting another, intruding his hand even into the sacred precinct of the famous oath itself. 'And in this the commonwealth acted upon the principles of the most strict and impartial justice'—this is really neither *ἀνεκτόν*, nor *πιπρῖον*, nor *ἔμφυτον*. Francis is nearly as bad; 'Such distinction would have been most unjust.'

Leland in some parts of this great passage exceeds all

done by all ; but what fortune Providence bestows on each, that they had shared.

bounds in nearly the same degree—*τοὺς τῶν προγόνων*—‘those generous souls of ancient times,’ is really not only gratuitous, but resembles the style of a convivial song ; *ἑτέρους ἀγαθοὺς ἄιδρας*, ‘those illustrious sons of Athens.’ Yet all the labour given to add and expand seems so much spared on the task of translating ; else why does he make *προκινδυνεύσαντας* merely, ‘who were exposed’ ? Francis makes the country have only honoured the memory of the slain by inserting them ‘in the public registers ;’ though *μνῆμα* is a sepulchre, and *κειμένους* shows a lying or being laid, and no one has mentioned any public tablets where names were inserted ; while on the contrary, we learn from Corn. Nepos that Miltiades and his army were represented in the Portico. The word *προκινδυνεύσαντας* it is impossible well to render—it is meeting danger in order to drive or ward off some threatened blow. Wolff, ‘*pro aliis dimicant.*’ *παραταξαμένους* is a noble word for the sound ; but ‘arranged in battle,’ or ‘standing in battle array,’ renders it well. Francis’s ‘engaged in battle’ gives it feebly enough. Dawson’s ‘bearing the brunt of the battle’ is better. Wolff’s ‘*in acie steterunt,*’ seems merely ‘standing in line,’ and is insufficient. One thing is clear, that the more simply this celebrated piece is rendered, the better. The original owes much of its sublimity to its great simplicity.

The whole passage which ends here, and begins *ἂν γὰρ ταῦτα προίτο ἀκοντί* (‘For if she had given up’ p. 173), is deserving of close study, being one of the greatest pieces of declamation on record in any tongue. Much of it would have answered in our debates ; the allusions to history are quite such as would tell with us ; the

And such, execrable pedagogue¹, such being the case, it is that you would fain strip me of

common-places might alone require to be changed, those, especially, about slavery and death, because to us they seem trivial; but so probably would many of ours, such as those on tolerance, humanity, and freedom of discussion, on which we so often dwell. How far the Oath might be adopted by us with effect, may be doubted by some, inexperienced in public speaking; but exclamation and adjuration as vehement have by skilful men been tried with perfect success both in our Senate and our Forum. To be sure, the swift transition from this noble passage to very gross personal abuse and even ribaldry, would never with us have been borne, nor indeed with us could a defensive and explanatory speech have abounded so much in recrimination as the oration at large does, without a great risk of its making the audience suspect a weak case.

¹ *κατάματος*—devoted to the furies—object of divine vengeance; *γυμματοκίβων*, teacher of boys: the former a vehement expression; the latter a very unworthy sneer at the trade of Æschines' father. Francis loses his temper even more than Δ in this place. 'Thou accursed villain! thou miserable pettifogger!' quoth he—the latter not being the true sense. Dawson, 'vile scribbler.' Wolff, 'gibbouse literator' (from *κίβων*, subst.—instead of *κίπρω*). Leland, 'abject scrivener'—always supposing this to mean a clerk or writer, whereas it is a money-changer, the former meaning of a conveyancer being quite obsolete. *τριταγωνιστά*—Dawson, 'buffoon.' Leland, 'vile player.' But why not the literal meaning—third-rate player—an actor of third-rate parts? Francis is right here.

the respect and love of those very countrymen, and for this purpose dwell upon the trophies and the battles, and the great deeds of old, with what tittle of which has this trial the least connexion? And when I came forward, thou third-rate actor, to counsel the state touching her claim of sovereignty, with what sentiments did it become me to be inspired on mounting the Bema? Should I have spoken things unworthy of those proud recollections? Then had I deserved to die. For you yourselves, Athenians, ought not to hear private and public causes in the same temper of mind; but as the daily transactions of life should be judged strictly and according to the rules and practices of society, so should measures of state be considered with a view to the dignity of our ancestors; and each of you, in coming to decide upon state prosecutions, should, together with the staff and badge of justice¹, take upon himself the impression of the country's greatness, if you feel that you should act up to those worthy recollections. But in touching upon the deeds of your forefathers², I have passed

¹ The sticks and balls used in voting, literally; but the words also mean staff and badge.

² Nothing can be more simple than this transition, or rather return from a digression; leaving it to the quick

over some Decrees and some transactions. I would now therefore return to the point from which I digressed.

On arriving at Thebes, we found the ambassadors of Philip and of the Thessalians and his other allies already there; our own friends in alarm, those of Philip full of confidence; and to show that I do not say so for any purpose of my own, read the Letter which as ambassadors we immediately sent. For to such a pitch of calumny has this man reached, that whenever any thing is rightly done, he ascribes it to the occasion and not to me; while of all untoward events I and my fortune are the cause. Nay, as it should seem, I, a counsellor and orator, am to have no hand¹ in

sense of an Athenian audience to gather that the topic had carried away the orator, as doubtless it had done them; yet Dawson must needs make him clumsily say that 'the mention of the great actions of their forefathers had transported him.' Leland falls into the same puerile turn. These translators really make the most skilful of composers fall into the same incredible clumsiness of expression which has made the readers of Lord Kaimes smile. 'Returning now from such episodical diversions,' is his lordship's *callida junctura*.

¹ *συνεργός* — co-operator — co-efficient — co-causer; having a hand, as in the text, is literal, and is good English. Francis, 'no merit.' Dawson's 'no part' is much better. Leland, 'no share of merit.'

any thing that is effected by debate and advice, and yet am alone to be held accountable for all the miscarriages of our arms and our military commanders. Can there be a more cruel slanderer, or a more execrable, than this man? Read the Letter.

LETTER (not preserved).

The assembly being convoked, the Macedonian ambassadors were first introduced, having been received in the quality of allies. Upon rising to speak, they harangued much in praise of Philip, much in vituperation of you, and in recital of all that you had ever done adverse to the Thebans. In a word, they concluded that for the favours received from Philip they should show themselves grateful, but for the wrongs done by you, they should seek redress in whatever way they pleased, either by giving a passage through their country to ours, or by joining in the march upon Attica; and they showed, as they imagined, that if their advice were followed, the cattle and slaves and all the other wealth of Attica would be brought into Bœotia, while, by following the advice which they declared we were going to give, all the

Bæotian resources would be squandered in the war. They said much more besides, all to the like effect. But the answer which we made to these things, I should take more delight in detailing point by point than anything in the whole world¹; only I am apprehensive lest, now the occasion is passed away, you should consider that some deluge has overwhelmed those transactions, and regard all that could be said upon the subject as keeping up a fruitless contention² respecting them. Hear, however, our arguments and their reply. Read them.

ANSWER OF THE THEBANS (not preserved).

After these proceedings, they called upon you and summoned you in form; you marched; you succoured them; to pass over intermediate³ occurrences, they received you as familiar friends; so much so that, while their own

¹ Literally, value it more than all in life; but 'anything in the whole world' is idiomatic and close.

² The *κατακλυσμός* and *μάταιος ὄχλος* are here both very fine.

³ *ἐν μέσφ*—intermediate; Francis, 'less important'—but *Δ* only means plainly to pass over all till he comes to Thebes; and so Leland and Dawson.

infantry and cavalry were stationed without the walls, they quartered your army in their dwellings and their citadel¹, in the midst of their children, and wives, and whatever was dearest to them. Why, on that day the Thebans thrice pronounced the noblest panegyric upon you; first on your courage, next on your justice, thirdly on your self-command. For when they preferred fighting on your side to fighting against you, they deemed you both braver than Philip and more just in your demands; and when they left in your power their children and their wives, possessions which they and all men guard the most jealously, they proved the confidence they reposed in your honour. In all this, Athenians, they showed a correct knowledge of your character. For when our troops entered² the city, no one ever preferred so much as a groundless charge against you, so temperate was your behaviour; and on two occasions, while serving with them, the one in the first engagement near the river, the other

¹ ἄστυ, counted as the house of their Gods.

² εἰσέκοις, clearly means to imply that no complaint, right or wrong, was ever made. But Dawson, contrary to the plain syntax as well as the rest of the sentence, makes it that no complaint of any *injustice* was made—the question being of continence.

in the winter campaign, your conduct was not only irreproachable, but admirable in discipline¹, in equipment, in courage. Hence on their part, praises bestowed upon you ; on your part, sacrifices and processions to the Gods. And here I would fain² ask Æschines a question : When all this was going on, and the city was filled with enthusiasm, and gratitude, and eulogy, whether he joined in gratulation and thanksgiving with the people, or remained at home sorrowful, and bemoaning, and begrudging³ the public prosperity ? For if indeed he made his appearance, and took part with the rest, is not his conduct dreadful, nay rather is it not impious, in now calling upon you to condemn those proceedings as evil which he had called the Gods to witness were good, those Gods in whose presence you have this day sworn ? But

¹ *κῆσμος*—discipline—is literal and right here. Wolff's 'modestia' must be wrong—the moderation (if that be meant) belonged to another head, and is already treated by *σωφροσύνη*. Some have ornatus ; but *παρασκευή* includes that

² *ἡδίως ἐροίμην*. The text is both idiomatic and literal. Not as Francis and Leland have it, 'gladly.'

³ *δυσμενείων*—bearing ill will—begrudging. Leland, 'provoked.' Francis, 'indulging the malevolence of his spirit.' Dawson, 'discontented.' Wolff, 'ægre ferens.'

if he did not appear, does he not deserve a thousand deaths for groaning over a spectacle that filled all others with joy¹? Read now these Decrees.

DECREES OF SACRIFICES (not preserved).

We then were employed in thanksgivings, the Thebans in reflecting that they owed their

¹ The beauty of this passage is very striking. Not merely the exquisite diction—the majesty of the rhythm—the skilful collocation—the picturesque description of Æschines' dismay, and skulking from the public rejoicings; but the argument is to be observed and admired. It is a dilemma, and one which would be quite sufficient for the momentary victory at which alone an orator often aims. It is not closely reasoned; it is not a complete dilemma; a retort is obvious, (to use the language of the logicians,) and this is always fatal, being the test before which no bad dilemma can stand. Æschines had only to embrace the second alternative—the second horn—and it never could have transfixed him. 'I did remain at home, not mourning over the success of your measures, but their wickedness; not grudging the people their short-lived joy, but grieved to see them deluded by your arts to their ruin.' This answer was complete. Nevertheless, there are but very few complete dilemmas in the whole course of any argument upon any subject; and the one under consideration is quite good enough to pass with an audience in a speech. Many much less complete are every day used with us both in the senate, in popular

deliverance to us: and it turned out that you, who had seemed to require succour in consequence of the conduct of Æschines's party¹, were yourselves succouring others in consequence of having been guided by me. But what cries² Philip raised upon those transactions, and in what trouble he was, you shall learn from the letters which he sent to Peloponnesus. Produce, then, and read these, that you may see whether my constancy, and journeyings³, and toils, and those various decrees which Æschines now tears to pieces, worked any good. For, indeed, Athenians, we have had before my time many great and illus-

assemblies, and even at the bar, and with sufficient success. This whole passage would be of certain success in our Parliament.

¹ ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οἵτοι. Wolff, 'propter istorum conatus,' which may mean either Æschines' party or the Thebans, but rather the former, as it is to be admitted οἵτοι with Δ generally does—So Leland and the others. Dawson and Francis, as well as Leland, make it the Athenians who were helping others.

² οἷας ἠφίει φωνάς, with the παραχαΐς which follows, forbid us to render φωνάς merely the 'style adopted' by Philip, with Leland.

³ πλάνου—wanderings—peregrinations—and so Wolff, 'errationes.' There may be an error in the Greek text; but journeyings seems to render the word as it stands.

trious orators, the famous Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, and vast numbers more, but no one of them ever so entirely gave himself up to his country; he that propounded Decrees did not go ambassador, and he that went ambassador did not propound Decrees; but each secured his own ease, and, if anything went wrong, his escape¹. What, then? some one may say, Do you magnify yourself above all others for fortitude and for daring, as if you had done all yourself? I say no such thing; but I felt so convinced of the great risk which the country was about to encounter, that I saw no room for looking to my own security, and made it my delight to leave no duty undone which any one ought to do. For I had persuaded myself², groundlessly, perad-

¹ ἐπελείπετο ἑαυτῷ ῥιπτόνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γ' ἔγνοιτο, ἀναφορὰν. Nothing can be more expressive or more terse. 'Left in store for himself some case, and if anything happened, a way out of it, a means of slipping out.' It is literally a dipping up - an emersion - a rising out of the mess or sea of troubles. Francis, 'Some refuge and resource' Dawson, 'retreat.' Leland, 'resource.' Wolff, 'receptum,' it is to be supposed for 'receptaculum.'

* The great climax formerly commented on seems to have here been still in his mind, probably from its brilliant success. The composition of this passage is fine, though much inferior to that of the other.

venture¹, yet still I had persuaded myself, that no propounder of Decrees could propound better than mine, nor any executor of plans execute better than I, nor any ambassador negotiate more zealously or more honestly. Hence it was that I put myself forward on all occasions. Read now the letters of Philip.

LETTERS (not preserved)².

To such extremities, Æschines, did my policy reduce Philip. Through me was he brought to utter such cries,—he who had before cast on this country so many insolent expressions³. For this was I crowned by the people, when you stood by and did not object. But Diondas,

¹ *τυχὸν ἀναισθητον* ‘perhaps too fondly,’ Dawson; this is very good. Francis, ‘foolishly.’ Wolff, ‘stupide fortassis.’ Leland, ‘not perhaps on solid grounds.’ ‘Fond’ in old English is ‘foolish,’ and Chaucer uses to *fomen* for to dote; but it is now used as denoting some folly connected with love of oneself or others.

² It is truly unfortunate that the only letter of Philip in which he appears to have quailed should be lost. Had Δ exaggerated in his description of it, so that he was fain to suppress it when he published the oration? Of the publication we have no account; but the loss of this letter is remarkable.

³ *ἐπαιρόμενος θρασυῖς (λόγους)*, raising up against us insolent words.

who did impeach the Decree for crowning me, had not a fifth part of the votes. Then read me those Decrees, which were at the time absolved¹, and which Æschines never so much as impeached.

DECREES (not preserved).

These Decrees, Athenians, are couched in the self same words which first Aristonicus and now Ctesiphon have used for theirs ; and these Decrees Æschines himself never attacked nor joined in attacking. But it would have been more reasonable then to impeach Demomeles, the proposer of those Decrees, or Hyperides, if the present charges against me are well founded, than to attack Ctesiphon now. And why ? Because Ctesiphon is at liberty to rest his cause upon those precedents, and upon the decisions of the courts, and upon the fact that Æschines himself never accused them for propounding what Ctesiphon has now proposed, and upon the principle of law which does not allow of an impeachment for things so settled²; and for

¹ Acquitted when charged as unconstitutional.

² This is clearly the meaning of τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων, which Francis renders 'a second prosecution for things

many other reasons. Then too the cause would have been decided on its own merits, without anticipating any other results¹ to prejudice it. But I conceive it was not at that time possible to do what Æschines is now doing, to cull out from times long gone by, and from a multitude of Decrees, such points as no one had any notice of, nor could expect to hear brought forward this day, and then to inveigh against them and make a show of saying something², by falsifying dates, and substituting wrong motives of action for the true ones. Such things were not then possible ;

already determined'— a plea of *autrefois acquit*, instead of the *statute of limitations*. But there had been no trial to which this kind of defence could apply. Leland makes the same version. Dawson is right. Wolff, literally, 'de rebus ita actis nulla actio.'

¹ This passage is certainly difficult. The first part is clear enough ; but what means *πρὶν τι τοίτων προλαβεῖν*? Francis, 'take advantage of circumstances that have since passed.' Dawson flies from the difficulty, and hides himself in a paraphrase 'false colours which envy and prejudice have in part cast on it.' Leland, 'without any previous considerations in its favour.' Wolff, 'priusquam horum quicquam accessisset.' It must be, 'before he could prejudice it by any of those things.'

² *δοκίῳ τι λέγειν*. Dawson, 'give his assertions the plausible air they now wear.' Francis, 'maintain the specious appearance of a prosecutor.' Wolff, 'speciosam adferre orationem.' Leland, 'made up a plausible harangue.'

but the statements should have been made while the truth itself was accessible, and while your recollection of men's conduct was fresh, and the things in question were still all but actually in your hands. Wherefore, avoiding the trial at the date of the transactions, he now comes forward when it is too late, expecting you, as it should seem, to make this proceeding a contest of oratory and not an examination of public conduct; a discussion of words¹, and not an inquiry into the interests of the country.

Then he becomes sententious², and says that you ought to lay aside the opinions concerning us which you may have brought with you from home; and that as when in reckoning with any one you think there remains a balance over, yet if you find the account square and nothing due, you give in; so should you now yield to what the debate has made appear. See now of how perishable a nature is everything hatched in iniquity, and justly so! For by this very

¹ λόγων κρίσιν- Dawson, 'criticize words.' Francis, 'judgment.' Leland, 'judge of speech.'

² σοφίζομαι here seems to be, not to 'argue with sophistry' (Francis, Dawson, and Leland), but to 'be wise overmuch.' Wolff, 'argutatur.' Others have 'sententiosum agit,' which seems nearest the mark.

sapient illustration he has confessed that you recognize in me the advocate of my country, in him the partisan of Philip; for he never would have besought you to change your opinion had not this been your actual impression of us both: and that he has no just ground for conjuring you to alter your opinion, I shall easily show, not indeed by using counters, for we are not now upon an account of money, but by recounting each matter shortly, and appealing to you who hear me as at once auditors¹ and witnesses.

My policy, which he impugns, was the cause why the Thebans, instead of joining Philip to invade us, as every one expected, arrayed themselves with us to resist him; why the war, instead of being waged within Attica itself, was carried on seven hundred stadia from the city, on the Bœotian confines; why, instead of privateers from Eubœa spoiling and harassing us², Attica enjoyed a maritime peace during the whole war; why, instead of Philip being master of the Hellespont, and seizing on Byzantium, we had the Byzantines with us in our hostilities

¹ λογισταῖς—auditors of accounts—keeping up the simile introduced into the argument by Æschines.

² ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας—Dawson, led by the collocation, makes this, not pirates from Eubœa, but 'pirates driving us from Eubœa.'

against him¹. Does this reckoning upon measures strike you as resembling that with counters²? Or must these events be taken out of the opposite side of my account? But rather ought we not to see that they be had in everlasting remembrance? I do not add anything on that cruelty having been experienced by others which Philip, whenever he had the mastery, invariably showed; while of the good will which he affected towards you when casting about³ how he might effect his other purposes, you deservedly reaped the fruits. Of these things I say nothing. Yet I hesitate not to affirm that a

¹ This most Demosthenean passage would have had infallible success with us.

² This appeal is fine, and indeed full of wit, almost of humour. Having shown how he can handle Æschines' simile and point it against him, he turns round sharp upon him, as if to ask him how he likes it—how he relishes *this other* kind of reckoning? This sort of turn is very successful when practised with due skill in our assemblies; but it requires not only due skill—it is one of the many things only competent to speakers of due weight also. ἀντανελίῳ is to take from the opposite or debit side of the account. Francis, forgetting the force of the ἀντί, merely says, 'taking out of the account.' So Leland, 'erased from the account.' Dawson is extremely learned in the phrasology of accounting here, and speaks of stock, balances, par; but misses the word.

³ This seems literally to express περ βαλλόμενος, and it is quite idiomatic.

person desirous of fairly examining a minister's conduct, and not calumniating him, would never impeach those things which you, Æschines, now refer to ; putting cases¹ and mimicing words and gestures ; for the whole fate of Greece depended, do you not perceive ? on this--whether I spoke one word or another--whether I stretched my hand this way or that way². But the fair accuser would survey the transactions themselves, and see what resources and what forces the country possessed when I entered into public life, and what I collected for her after I came forward, and how her enemies were circumstanced. So that if I had reduced her power, he might show that the guilt was mine ; but if I had greatly augmented it, then would he never have attacked me. But since you, Æschines, have fled away from this comparison, I will institute it ; and do you, Athenians, mark if I fairly state the case.

¹ παραδείγματα πλάττων—making examples—putting cases. Francis, 'inventing comparisons.' Dawson, 'inventing similes.' Leland, 'inventing metaphors.' Wolff, 'exempla confingendo.'

² This whole passage is really humorous, even to drollery. Nor did the 'ridiculus consul' ever give more into it, as far as a single phrase or two goes, even when laughing at him who gave him the memorable appellation.

The power of the state, then, consisted in the Islands, not all of them, but the weaker ones, for neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra were of our side. Our revenue was five-and-forty talents, and that was anticipated¹; of infantry or cavalry, except common citizens, not a man. But the most alarming thing of all, and what made most for the enemy, was that these men had prepared all our neighbours for hostility rather than friendship with us, the Megareans, Thebans, Eubœans. Such was the situation of the country, nor can any one gainsay any of these statements. But observe how Philip stood, with whom our contest lay. First he commanded his followers, by his own undivided authority², which is everything for the success of a war. Next, they had their arms always in their hands³. Then he abounded in revenues,

¹ *προεξελεγμένα*—Dawson, 'proved deficient.' Francis and Leland right. Wolff, 'jam ante exacta.'

² *αὐτοκράτωρ*. This means as in the text, in contradistinction to influence over allies or subsidiary troops not under the actual command of the power employing them. Leland, 'absolute and uncontrolled,' gives the same meaning in the result, but loses the contrasting effect of the word.

³ Francis makes this, which should be given as in the text literally, 'his troops were inured to action.' Daw-

and acted as he chose, not announcing his designs in Decrees, not consulting in public, nor impeached by calumniators, nor having to defend himself against charges of Illegal Proposition¹, nor accountable to any one, but himself absolutely the master, the leader, the lord of all. But I who was pitted against him², (for it is but fair to examine this also,) what sway had I? For first, this power of haranguing, the only power I possessed, you gave equally to his hirelings and to me; and whenever they³ over-

son, 'continually under arms, and completely disciplined' -- the latter part being quite gratuitous.

¹ Dawson leaves out the cream of this fine and skilful enumeration—the γραφή παρανόμων—the charge of Illegal Propounding—which Δ says Philip had not, like him, to be always thinking how he might avoid. This too applies to the existing prosecution. Dawson only has 'charge of illegal *proceedings*'—which means anything. Leland is worse—'guard against impeachments.' There is hardly a nobler passage in all Δ than this. It is a close and rapid summary of almost his whole case. It is peculiarly suited to our Senate, where it is no wearisome reiteration, but a necessary part of oratory to present the case in various forms, sometimes in detail, sometimes in abridgment, sometimes merely by way of allusion, or even in illustration of a particular topic.

² πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος—literally, drawn up in array against him—or as we say, idiomatically, 'pitted against him.'

³ Dawson makes οὔτοι, 'parricides'—all of a sudden!

powered me on any question (as frequently happened from accidental causes) you took counsel in the enemy's favour, and then left me¹. Yet did I, under all these disadvantages, obtain for you the alliance of the Eubœans, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Thebans, the Megareans, the Leucadians, the Corcyrians, from whence you collected 15,000 foreign infantry and 2000 cavalry, beside the troops of the State. Of money I also obtained as large a supply as was practicable.

But if, Æschines, you now speak of our rights with respect to the Thebans, or with respect to the Byzantians, or with respect to the Eubœans, or put the argument upon the footing of equality² with all these powers; first

This is one of the oddest freaks ever exhibited by a translator, unless indeed Dawson had seen some edition with a misprint, or some MS. which no edition takes notice of.

¹ ἀπηΐειτε—Francis, 'departed after passing every possible resolution in favour of your enemies.' Leland omits the departing; so does Wolff.

² Reiske has here περὶ τῶν νήσων—all others reading ἰσων. Why should the Islands contribute? Besides, πρὸς, used to the other states, and changed into περὶ here, shows the meaning—independent of the whole argument immediately turning upon the proportions. Reiske gives no kind of authority for his emendation; but merely says, 'correxī' (il. 527).

of all you are not aware that when 300 galleys maintained the conflict for all Greece, this country furnished 200 of the number, and never considered herself as ill treated, nor brought to trial those who advised her, nor ever seemed to be aggrieved by the disproportion (indeed, it would have been disgraceful if she had); but rendered thanks to Heaven for having, in the midst of the common dangers that surrounded Greece, contributed a double share towards securing the common safety. Besides, you will get but slender thanks from this assembly by calumniating me. For why will you now be insisting on what ought then to have been done, when you never brought forward any such proposition at the time, though you were in the city and were present at the debates? if indeed you could have suited your measures to the temper of those times in which we obtained not what we wished, but what we could. For there was a bidder against us, quite ready instantly to receive whatever allies we rejected and to advance upon our price¹.

But if I am now accused for what I actually

¹ χρήματα προσθήσαν. Francis, 'enlarge their price.' Dawson, 'liberal rewards.' Leland, 'bid much higher.' Wolff, 'pretium augetur.'

did, what think you would have happened had those States gone over to Philip while I was captiously disputing upon the contingents, and had he become master at once of Eubœa and Thebes and Byzantium? What think you would those abandoned men have done or have said then? Would they not have said the allies had been betrayed? Would they not have said that, desirous of siding with us, their advances had been repelled by us?—that he had become master of the Hellespont through the Byzantians?—that he had got possession of the corn trade of Greece?—that the weight of a near and a heavy war had been brought down upon Attica by the Thebans?—that the sea had been made unnavigable by the privateers stalking¹ forth from Eubœa? Would they not have said all this and a great deal more? A wicked thing, Athenians, a wicked thing is a calumniator ever, and in every way a slanderous and a querulous² thing. But this

¹ ὀρμωφέρων means either simply 'faring forth, or breaking out.' Wolff most properly here uses the very fine word 'grassantes,' with which our text coincides.

² βύσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον. Francis will have these words, 'malignant, envious, and fond of contention,' the whole being in anti-climax as well as feeble. Dawson, 'complaining of the government of Providence itself;' herein

creature is despicable by nature, and incapable of any trace of all generous and noble deeds; ape of a tragedian, Œnomaus of the barn, spurious orator¹! For what does your eloquence profit the country? You now descant upon what is past and gone; as if a physician, when called to patients in a sinking state, should give no advice, nor prescribe any course by which the disease might be cured; but after one of them had died, and the funeral duties were performing, should follow him to the grave, and expound how the poor man never

following the Scholiast, and quoting Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, who uses the words *τίς ἡμῶς ἐβίασεν*, Who has bewitched you? Leland, 'Querulous, and industrious in seeking pretence of complaint.'

¹ This is a remarkable piece of abuse, and as in the great passage, it succeeds immediately a noble and chaste and truly Demosthenean passage. *κίναδος τ' ἀνθρώπινον*—a beastly (fox-like) little fellow. Francis, 'pernicious animal in human shape.' Dawson, 'diminutive wretch and savage brute.' Leland, 'fox in human shape.' The other epithets might be rendered perhaps as closely as may be by 'mime tragedian! hero (or Œnomaus) of the barn! Brummagem orator! or base-coin orator!' *αὐτο-τραγικός* must be more than mere tragedian—it is untaught—self-made tragedian. *παράσημος* is adulterated, or base, or spurious. Dawson's 'infamous' is not at all like it. Francis, 'orator of false and adulterate coin.' What orator may that be precisely?

would have died had such and such things only been done. Moonstricken¹! is it now that at length you too speak out?

Nor yet will you find that our very defeat, if you exult in that over which you, wretch, rather ought to groan, befell the country in any wise through my policy. Consider only, Athenians: Never from any embassy upon which you sent me did I come off worsted by Philip's ambassadors; not from Thessaly, not from Ambracia, not from Illyria, not from the Thracian kings, not from the Byzantians, nor from any other quarter whatever, nor finally, of late, from Thebes. But wheresoever his negociators were overcome in debate, thither he marched, and

¹ ἐμτροννητε—thunderstruck stupefied. Wolff, 'attonnite.' Francis, 'In very phrensy' (and he mistakes the question put here). But Dawson spins these four words—ἐμβρόντητε εἶτα νῦν λέγεις—into two whole and most gratuitous sentences—'Hardened fellow that thou art, and proof against all correction, even though a peal of thunder were the vehicle of it' (this is pretty well for one single word of the Greek; and now for the other three)—'Is this a time of day to begin a discourse of matters so long past and gone?' This is really worth a place in the cabinets of the curious, as the uttermost extent to which the powers of paraphrase can go. At this rate Δ would have spoken not three but seven and twenty hours, or thereabouts, had he spoken our language.

carried the day by his arms. Do you then require this of me, and are you not ashamed, at the moment you are upbraiding me for weakness, to require, that I should defy him single-handed and by force of words alone? For what other weapons had I? Certainly not the lives of men, nor the fortune of warriors, nor the military operations of which you are so blundering as to demand an account at my hands¹. But whatever a minister can be accountable for, make of that the strictest scrutiny, and I do not object. What then falls within this description? To descry events in their first beginnings, to cast his look forward, and to warn others of their approach. All this I have done. Then, to confine within the narrowest bounds all delays, and backwardness, and ignorance, and contentiousness, faults which are inherent and unavoidable in all States; and on the other hand, to promote unanimity, and friendly dispositions, and zeal in the performance of public duty:—and all these things I likewise did, nor can any man point out any of them that, so far as depended

¹ οὕτω σκαίδας εἶ is an additional limb of the sentence, but the sense is strictly as given by transposition in the text. οὕτω σκαίδας εἶ is left out by Francis altogether.

on me, was left undone. If, then, it should be asked by what means Philip for the most part succeeded in his operations, every one would answer, By his army, by his largesses, by corrupting those at the head of affairs. Well, then, I neither had armies, nor did I command them, and therefore the argument respecting military operations cannot touch me. Nay in so far as I was inaccessible to his bribes,—there I conquered Philip! For as he who purchases¹ any one, overcomes him who has received the price and sold himself, so he who will not take the money, nor consent to be bribed, has conquered the bidder. Thus, as far as I am concerned, this country stands unconquered.

These and such as these, beside many others, are the grounds which I furnished in justification of Ctesiphon's Decree in my favour. What grounds are furnished by you all, I will now proceed to state.

Immediately after the battle, when it would not have been very wonderful if, in the midst of such disasters and alarms, the multitude had manifested some feeling of discontent, still the

¹ This simile is very fine and close, provided we make the purchase be of a person—if of a thing, it is not close nor even sensible; and *ἐν πρὶνται* shows the sense.

people knowing, because they had witnessed, all my conduct, began by resolving to adopt all my counsels for the safety of the State ; and whatever defensive measures were taken, the distribution of the guards, the fosses, the provisions for the wall-repairs, all were ordered according to my Decrees. Then at the election of Superintendent of Grain, the choice of the people fell upon me ; and afterwards when those who were seeking my destruction combined together and pressed against me prosecutions, reckonings, treasonable charges, and all the rest of it, not at first in their own persons, but through those behind whom they thought they might skulk (for you well know and remember, that at first I was nearly every day put upon my trial, and neither the fury of Sosicles, nor the calumnies of Philocrates, nor the frenzy of Diondas and Melanus, nor any other engine, was left untried by the faction against me)—in all these perils, chiefly through the goodness of Heaven, next through you and all the rest of the Athenian people, I was righteously saved. For this is both the real truth, and that conduct was becoming Judges who had sworn to do justice¹, and who knew how to keep their oath.

¹ εὐορκα γνόντων. Wolff's 'religio pronunciaret' is not at all clear.

When therefore on my trial for treason you acquitted me¹, and did not give my prosecutors a fifth of the votes, you decided that my conduct had been unexceptionable. When I was acquitted of Illegally Propounding, I was proved to have both advised and to have propounded according to law. When you countersigned² the discharge of my accounts, you further admitted³ that I had acted in all respects honestly and incorruptibly.

Such being the state of the case, what appellation was it fit, what was it just, that Ctesiphon should apply to my conduct? What but that which he saw the people give it? What but that which he saw the sworn judges give it? What but that which all firmly believed to be the truth? Ay, but, says Æschines, that was a fine boast of Cephalus that he never had to

¹ That is during the period that immediately followed the Battle.

² *ἐπεισημαίνεσθε*—Francis ‘audited;’ Dawson, ‘passed;’ Leland, ‘passed and approved;’ Wolff, ‘rationum actionis obsignaretis:’ this is good and literal, and answers to countersign.

³ *προσωμολογεῖτε*, confessed over and above. The force of the *πρός* is not given by Leland saying ‘authentically’—or Dawson, ‘freed from all suspicion’—or Francis, ‘gave public testimony.’ Wolff, to leave it out, has merely ‘confitebamini.’

defend himself against any charge¹; and truly it was a lucky boast as well as a fine one. But he who has often been accused and never once convicted of any wrong-doing, how should he the rather on that account be with any justice held liable to reproach? But in truth, Athenians, it is for me to use against² Æschines this fine saying of Cephalus. For never did he himself either institute or prosecute any charge against me; so that by his own confession I am in no respect a worse citizen than Cephalus.

¹ This is a passage of much delicacy and beauty in the diction. The translators in general give rather the result, or inference, than the meaning of Cephalus' saying — τὸ μὴ δέμιν γραφὴν φυγεῖν literally, to escape from no charge — never to have been even acquitted — i. e. that it is better not to have had occasion for an acquittal — and unless the words are given nearly as in the Greek, the paradox or epigram of the saying is gone, though certainly φυγεῖν is 'to be a defendant.' Francis, 'The glory of Cephalus that he never was indicted.' Dawson, 'never once had an accusation preferred against him.' Leland, 'never had occasion to be acquitted' and this is better; but still the delicacy of the original escapes. Wolff gives the καλόν better, making it the boast or saying of Cephalus, which none of the others do; but the thing still is not rendered by 'nullius reum fieri criminis.' Cephalus said it in answer to others who were boasting of acquittals.

² πρὸς γε τοῦτον. This is wholly lost by Leland and the others, who only paraphrase and lose the force of the Greek.

From every quarter then may we deduce the proofs of his unfairness and spite ; but not the least from what he has argued about fortune. I hold any one to be utterly senseless and barbarous, who, being himself a man, can upbraid any of his fellow men with human misfortunes ; for seeing that he who fancies himself most prosperous and Fortune to be most kind, knows not that she will continue such¹ until the evening of the same day, how dares he speak of Fortune, or how upbraid another with her frowns ? But since Æschines has, beside many other such things, spoken so proudly on this point also, mark, Athenians, and you will perceive how much more true and more becoming a man will be my language than his². I hold, indeed, the Fortune of this

¹ As the ellipsis here must be supplied, there is a temptation to introduce our common phrase, 'that Fortune shall smile on him,' &c. Francis, 'boast of her favours.' Dawson, 'forsaken by her' (having 'smiles and frowns' before). Leland, without personification, says, 'it' (fortune) 'may remain unchanged even for a day,' losing the picturesque expression of 'the same evening.'

² The whole of this passage upon Fortune seems inferior to the general style of Δ. But it must be remembered that fortune and merit were confounded together by the ancient morality. They deified Fortune, and thus

country to be favourable ; I see the Dodonean oracle of Jupiter and the Pythian of Apollo thus predicting ; but I also see that the fortunes of all individuals in this crisis are precarious and disastrous ; for which of the Greeks or which of the Barbarians has not in these times experienced many and great reverses ? Thus our having chosen as a community the more glorious part, and our now being in a better condition¹ than those other States which thought to secure their own prosperity by casting us off, I reckon part of the good fortune of this country. That, however, we have sometimes failed, and that things have not always gone with us as we wished, I only regard as this country receiving back her due share of the fortune of other men. But my own particular fortune and that of each one individual

made it a merit to be in her good graces, and a shame to be out of them. *Eidit* was a praise of their sovereigns. Juvenal alludes to this in the well-known lines, 'Nullum numen,' &c. In this passage there is little personification in the Greek, *ἀπιστην* being the only word of the kind.

¹ *ἀμεινον παρτερον*. Francis, 'received better terms from the conqueror.' This would have been a most offensive complaint, and given the Athenians little advantage over the other Greeks. Dawson, 'in a better condition.' Leland, 'more prosperous.' Wolff, 'feliciores sumus ;' literally, 'be better off,' or 'do better.'

among us ought, I conceive, to be judged of by observing our own particular condition. Such are my notions concerning fortune, and they appear to me right and just, as they will, I think, also appear to you. But Æschines contends that my individual fortune is greater than that of the community at large; the small and the mean than the great and the important. How can it be so? If, Æschines, you are resolved to examine my fortune, view it in comparison with your own; and should you find mine is better than yours, pause before you inveigh against it. Observe it now from the very first, and, by Heavens! let no one condemn me for folly¹; for I deem no one of sound mind who either insults poverty, or, brought up in affluence, makes wealth his boast. But I am driven by this hard-hearted man's railings and slanders to touch upon such topics, which I shall handle as temperately as I can and as the subject will allow.

¹ ψυχρότητα. Francis, 'meaning anything offensive.' Dawson, 'absurdity'— and in a note he gives 'frigidity,' and quotes Horace's joke on Empedocles, 'frigidus Ætnam insiluit.' Leland, 'betraying indications of a low mind.' It is 'benumbed or stupefied faculties,' most likely; though it may be low, vulgar-minded. Wolff, 'ineptire.' Some read ἀσυχρότητα. Stock, 'insalsitatis.'

It was my lot then, Æschines, when a boy, to frequent the schools suited to my station, and to have wherewithal to avoid doing anything mean through want¹. When I emerged from boyhood, I did as was consistent with my origin; filled the office of Choregus, furnished galleys, contributed to the revenue, and was wanting in no acts of munificence, public or private, but ready to aid both my country and my friends. When I entered into public life, I deemed it proper to choose the course which led to my being repeatedly crowned both by this country and the other Greek states, so that not even you, my enemies, will now venture to pronounce the part I took other than honourable. Such then were my fortunes; I pass over many other particulars respecting them, that I may avoid

¹ Francis seems here to be stricken with ψυχρότης mentioned in the last note; for he says, 'affluence which alone can preserve us from the necessity of committing any base or dishonourable action.' This is really as near as may be what *Δ in loco* does *not* mean to say. So Francis afterwards makes him speak of the generous education 'which he had received.' Dawson also makes him speak of 'the generosity' of his education. Leland only has 'liberal.' *Δ* speaks of only being above want, and having had an education suitable to such circumstances.

giving offence to any one¹ by referring to what I glory in.

But you, venerable² man, who look³ down upon others, see what kind of fortunes were yours compared with mine! Brought up from your boyhood in abject poverty, you both were helper in your father's school, and you ground the ink, sponged the forms, and swept the room, doing the work of a household slave, not of a freeborn youth. When grown up, you recited your mother's books as she performed her mysteries, and you helped in her other trickeries. At night, dressed like a bacchanal, and draining the goblet, and purifying the initiated, and rubbing them with clay and with bran, rising from the lustration, you ordered them to cry, 'I've fled the evil; I've found the good⁴;' bragging that none ever roared so loud

¹ This seems a plain hit at his enemies and those of the country.

² *σεμνός*. This may be glorious, illustrious, great. Stock, 'gravis.' Wolff, 'præclare.' Dawson, 'most worthy.' Francis, 'illustrious mortal.' Leland, 'thou man of dignity.' 'Chaste' or 'pure' is one of the meanings, but not probably in this place.

³ *καταπτύεις*—Spit down we say, 'look down;' really meaning much the same thing.

⁴ The Greek having no verse at all, why Francis should volunteer two very indifferent lines seems unaccountable.

before ; and truly I believe it ; for do not doubt that he who now speaks out so lustily, did not then howl most splendidly. But by day heading those fine companies along the highways, crowned with haybands and with herbs, and squeezing Parian snakes and brandishing them over your head ; bellowing, Euœ Sabœ, and dancing to the tune Hyes Attēs, Attēs Hyes, you were saluted by the poor old women as leader, and forerunner, and basket-bearer, and link-bearer, and the like, and received as wages for these offices cakes, and chains, and new-baked bread—on all which, Athenians, who but would heartily congratulate him and his fortune ? Afterwards, when you came to be enrolled among the members of your township some how or other, I pass that over, but when you were enrolled, you very soon chose out for yourself a most noble employment, that of clerk and servant to the city officers. Then quitting after a time this employment also, and doing everything yourself of which you accuse others, God knows, your subsequent life was no way unworthy of its beginning ; but hiring yourself out to those players called Ranters, Simylus and Socrates, you acted third-rate

They are, as Dawson observes, words used in the feasts, referring to acorns and bread, in honour of Ceres,

characters, and collecting grapes and figs, and olives, which you were pelted withal, like a fruiterer in other people's orchards¹, you received in these performances more blows than are given in games performed with risk of life. For there was between the audience and yourself an implacable² and unceasing warfare, in which, having received many wounds, you naturally enough laugh at those as cowards who are unacquainted with such dangers.

But passing over these things, which may be ascribed to poverty, I come to the charges that apply to your life and conversation. You chose, then, that line of policy, (ever since the

¹ This is an obscure passage, perhaps the most so in the oration, and the purity of the text is also doubtful. Translators have felt the little connexion of the fruit with the play-acting, and hence put in 'on your strolling excursions,' or some such phrases. But the difficulty lies in the words *ὡσπερ ὑπωρώνης ἐκείνος*. In some MSS. the *ἐκείνος* is omitted. The sense given in the text seems the true one.

² These words are fine and expressive applied to a war, *ἀσπονδος*, without treaty, *ἀκήρυκτος*, where no herald proclaims a truce; for that here is the sense, and not its other meaning, of a war not proclaimed by a herald formally. Francis, 'implacable and irreconcilable.' Leland same. Dawson, 'cruel and irreconcilable.' Stock, 'internecinum et implacabile.' Wolff, 'implacabile et perpetuum.'

plan struck your mind,) by which, as long as the country flourished, you led the life of the hare¹, frightened, and trembling, and perpetually expecting the scourge for the offences of which you were conscious; but when all others were suffering, you were seen in high spirits by all. But he who was so cheerful after the death of thousands of his fellow-citizens, what does he deserve to suffer at the hands of the survivors? But though I have many other passages of his history to recount, I will omit them all. For I do not consider myself obliged to state in detail all his scandalous and disgraceful acts, but such only as I may cite without disgracing myself. Draw then the parallel between your life and mine, Æschines, quietly and not acrimoniously; and demand of this audience which of the two each of them had rather choose for his own. You were an usher,—I a scholar; you were an initiator,—I was initiated²; you danced at the games—I

¹ Why Dawson should be seized with a fit of squeamishness and not venture upon the word *hare* is strange;—‘the most fearful of all creatures;’ and then a note is given to say how naturalists have remarked this quality in the hare, and that it sleeps with its eyes open.

² Francis gets rid of the rapidity as well as of the antithesis here—the two great qualities of Δ, and for in-

presided over them ; you were a clerk of the Assembly, I a member ; you, a third-rate actor, I a spectator ; you were constantly breaking down— I always hissing you¹ ; your measures were all in the enemy's favour—mine always in the country's ; and, in a word, now on this day the question as to me is whether or not I shall be crowned, while nothing whatever is alleged against my integrity ; while it is your lot to appear already as a calumniator, and the choice of evils before you is that of still continuing your trade, or being put to silence by failing to obtain a fifth of the votes.

Most happy (don't you perceive ?) has been the fortune of your life, so that you may well speak contemptuously of mine. Come, then ! I will run over all the testimonies of the offices which I administered ; but do you, Æschines, also recite to us the verses you used to murder—

‘ Quitting the gates of darkness, lo, I come ! ’

and again,

‘ Reluctantly I bear bad news, ye know ! ’

dulging the latter of which too much the Athenian hypercritics took him to task (Athen. ἀντιθέτων τι). Thus Francis translates *ἐτελεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην*, ‘ you initiated others in the lowest mysteries of our religion, I was initiated into the most solemn.’

¹ The tense here clearly denotes a constant recurrence.

and then

May curses light ——'

Yes,—and first of all upon yourself, abandoned citizen, traitor, third-rate actor, first upon you may the Gods, and then this whole assembly, bring destruction! Read the Testimonies.

DEPOSITIONS.

Such then was my conduct towards the country. As to my private life, if all of you are not aware that I was accessible, and kindly, and ready to help all who asked my aid. I have done, nor will add one word, nor bring forward any evidence upon the subject, nor speak of captives in war redeemed, nor of daughters portioned, nor of any other acts like these. For my notion is this; that he who has received a kindness should remember it for ever, and he who has conferred it should instantly forget it, if the former would bear the character of a good man, and the latter avoid that of a paltry spirit. But to bear in mind one's own good deeds and talk of them, is much the same with upbraiding those that benefited by them. Therefore I will do nothing of the kind, nor

go into the subject at all, but rest content with whatever estimation I enjoy in this respect.

But passing over my private concerns, I am still disposed to say somewhat upon those of the community. So if, Æschines, you can name any mortal under the sun, untarnished by the tyranny, first of Philip and now of Alexander, be he Greek, or be he Barbarian—then be it so—I will grant you that my fortune, or my ill luck¹, if you please so to call it, is the cause of all that has happened. But if of those who never set eyes on me nor heard the sound of my voice, many have suffered much and grievous evil, not only individuals but whole cities and nations, how much

¹ φορὰν χαλεπήν καὶ οὐχ οἷον ἔδει. This is, in the various editions of Δ, joined with καὶ to the preceding substantive. There seems little doubt that it should be ἦ. The φορὰν means clearly a 'rush,' a 'movement, a force;' and χαλεπήν is best rendered by 'hard to resist.' The other words constitute 'unfavourable,' or 'inopportune.' Wolff, 'impetum gravem et alium quam oporteret.' Stock, 'concursum sævum atque infaustum.' Dawson, 'general hard fate of all mankind, and the terrible confusion of all affairs,' of which the former is a complete mistranslation by transposing χαλεπήν to τύχην, and making it nonsense; and the latter is as wide of the mark as may be. Leland is very prolix, but gives the sense, 'that torrent of unhappy events which bear down upon us with an irresistible violence'

more just and correct is it according to the probability of the case, to regard the common lot of humanity, or some force of circumstances, untoward and difficult to resist, as the origin of these calamities? You, however, disregard all those, throw the blame upon me, called upon as I was to carry on the government in such a crisis; and this, though you well knew that if not the whole, at least a part of the reprobation is due to the community at large, but principally to yourself. For if I had counselled the State with full and absolute powers, your other orators would have had some right to accuse me. But if you were yourselves always present in all the public assemblies—if the State publicly propounded for discussion the course fit to be pursued—if what was done appeared to all, but chiefly to you, the most expedient—(for it was through no good will towards me that you allowed me to enjoy all the hopes and admiration and honours that waited on my measures at this time, but manifestly because you were overpowered by the truth and had nothing better to propose)—are you not now unjust and outrageous¹ in crying out

¹ *deusdè ποιεῖς*, 'iniquus;' but this falls short—beside being included in *adunῆς*. Stock, 'improbe'—Leland,

against measures than which you then knew none better?

Among all other men I observe these principles and these distinctions to prevail. Does any one wilfully do wrong? He is the object of indignation and of punishment. Does any one commit an error unintentionally? He is pardoned, not punished. Has one who neither does any wrong nor commits any error devoted himself to a course which to all appeared expedient, and has he been in common with all disappointed of success? It is not fair to reprobate or to attack him, but to condole with him. All this is established not only in all our jurisprudence, but by Nature herself in her unwritten laws, and in the very constitution of the human mind¹. Thus has Æschines so far surpassed

‘highly cruel.’—Dawson gives the whole thus, and very badly—‘the most flagrant injustice, and inexcusable baseness.’

¹ ἀγνῶστοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἤθεσι. This remarkable passage, resembling the Roman, rather than the Attic manner, gave rise probably to that noble expression of it by Cicero, so well known to scholars, and indeed to almost all men: ‘Non enim scripta, sed nata lex, &c.’ The latter part of the phrase is literally, human customs, habits, or ways of thinking; but it means such as are innate by φύσις preceding; and therefore the text renders it literally enough. Wolff, ‘institutis non scriptis et

all other men in cruelty and calumny, that those same things which he enumerates as misfortunes he also imputes to me as crimes¹. And not to mention other things, as if he had himself always spoken candidly and with all kindness, he desired you to keep a watch upon me and to beware of me lest I should circumvent or beguile you, calling me fair spoken², and canting,

moribus humanis.' Stock, '*legibus non scriptis et hominum moribus*,' in which *νόμος* is and *ῥήσιν*, which precede, are rendered improperly by the same word; *νόστιμον* is, properly speaking, customary or common law. Dawson as badly as possible, 'the everlasting dictates of Nature herself expressed in the universal consent and practice of mankind.' Leland, not much better, though shorter, indeed too elliptical 'the unwritten precepts of humanity.'

¹ *κατηγορεῖ* must be here rendered by adding 'as crimes,' else the antithesis in our language would be entirely lost. The composition of this whole passage begins, 'Among all men,' *παρὰ μὲν πάντων*, is truly admirable—so concise, so close, so full withal—it deserves to be studied word by word, and the beating upon the case is perfect. Any version of such a passage *must* fail; but it can never be kept too literal—yet the English translators make it a scene of paraphrase and prolixity.

² *δεινός* is probably not here eloquent, but fair spoken. Francis, 'terrible impostor.' Now, either he must take the original meaning, 'terrible,' or the translated one, 'cunning' both he cannot take. Dawson's 'powerful speaker' is not so wide of the mark. Wolff, '*veteratorem*.' Stock, '*callidum*.' Leland, 'vehement declaimer.'

and sophistical, and the like ; as if when a man by anticipation says of another what applies to himself, it must stick to him, without the audience even so much as asking who and what the person is who thus speaks. But I well know that you all know him well, and are aware how much more applicable these terms are to him than to me ; and this also I know full well, that my eloquence, (for so be it¹, although I observe, that for the most part the audience is master of the speaker's powers, since it is only according to the reception you give him and the favour you show him, that any speaker passes for skilful)—but if I possess any such skill you will all find it was employed in public offices for your benefit, never against you, nor for my personal advantage ; while his eloquence, on the contrary, has been bestowed not only in behalf of your enemies, but also in impeaching whoever vexed him or offended him personally.

Leland is very vague and paraphrastical in this passage throughout.

¹ Francis, in translating *ἵστω*, really puts into Δ's mouth an admission which is quite monstrous. 'My eloquence (for I must allow the charge) ;' all that Δ says is, *δεινότης* (*ἵστω γάρ*), whence *δεινότης* may be, and probably is, in the bad sense already given. Dawson, though roundabout, is far more tolerable — 'My eloquence, such as it is (for since he will have it so, I submit to the charge).'

He never uses it honestly for the benefit of his country—for it cannot surely be the part of a true patriot to endeavour that his private anger, or enmity, or other personal feeling, should be adopted and acted upon by those judges who are called to discharge a public duty ; nor ought he to come before you for any such purpose. It were far better that his nature should be alien from such feelings ; but if it must be so, then ought he to mitigate and moderate their working

In what circumstances then ought a statesman and an orator to be vehement ? When the State is in jeopardy upon the ruin of affairs—when the people are in conflict with the enemy—then it is that the strenuous and patriotic citizen appears¹. But when Æschines cannot pretend to have any ground whatever for even charging me with any offence in public life, or, I will add, in private, either in the name of the country or his own—for him to come forward with a vamped up attack on my crowning and my honours, and to waste so many

¹ This cannot literally be rendered as in the Greek, viz., ‘in those circumstances - for these are the circumstances of a strenuous and good citizen ;’ that is, they try, or test, or bring out, or require the exertions of such a one.

words upon this subject, is the working of personal spite and envy, and a little mind¹, and shows no good man. Then this proceeding of leaving his controversy with me out of the question, and attacking Ctesiphon, comprises everything that is base².

To me, indeed, Æschines, it appears from these speeches of yours, as if you had instituted this impeachment through a desire of making a display of vociferation, not of punishing any one's misconduct. For it is not the speech of the orator, Æschines, that avails, nor yet the compass of his voice, but his feeling in unison with the community and bearing enmity or affection towards them whom his country loves or hates. He that thus possesses his soul³ speaks ever with right feeling. But he that bows to those from whom the country has danger to apprehend, does not anchor in the same roadstead with the people; accordingly he does not look for safety from the same quarter. But mark me, I do: for I have always

¹ This topic again recurred to.

² This other once more pressed, because, after the brilliant declamation that precedes, it was sure to be doubly effective.

³ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν. The text gives this literally, but idiomatically. Francis, 'Whose soul is thus affected.'

made common cause with the people, nor have I ever taken any course for my peculiar and individual interest. Can you say as much? Then how?—You, who, instantly after the battle, went on the embassy to Philip, the cause of all that in these times befel your country; and that after refusing the office at all former periods, as every one knows?—But who deceives the country? Is it not he that says one thing and thinks another? And who is he upon whom at every assembly solemn execration is proclaimed? Is it not such a man as this? What worse charge can any one bring against an orator than that his words and his sentiments do not tally? Yet you have been discovered to be such a man; and you still lift your voice and dare to look this assembly in the face¹! Think you they do not know you for what you are²? or that such a slumber and oblivion has come over them all as to make them forget the speeches you declaimed before the people, swearing and imprecating on yourself if you ever had any kind of dealings with

¹ Wolff's habitual abstinence is here broken in upon. He has for *βλέπειν πρόσωπα*, 'vultum atque ora intueri.'

² *δοτις εἶ*. Francis, 'What a villain thou art!'—as if there was any occasion for lending abusive terms to Δ.

Philip, and that I falsely made this charge upon you from personal enmity? But no sooner came the news of the battle than, forgetting all this, you at once confessed and even¹ affected being Philip's friend and guest, changing into such names as these your contract of hiring with him. For by what footing of equality, or by what pretext of title, Æschines, could Philip be the host, or the friend, or even the acquaintance, of Glaucotea the tambourine player's son? I can see none. But you were his hireling to ruin the interests of this nation. Yet when you are detected by the people as a traitor, and have become informer against yourself since the issue of the contest, you must needs attack me, and upbraid me for these events, for which you will find all others much more to blame than I².

¹ ὁμολόγεις, καὶ προσεποιουῖ, 'confessed,' or 'avowed,' or 'admitted and put forward,' or 'pretended,' or 'affected,' it may be 'proclaimed,' but 'affectedly confessed,' gives the sense best; or more literally (but which means the same thing) 'confessed and affected.' Wolff 'præ te ferebas.' Stock, same. Dawson's 'threw off the mask' is excellent. Leland has 'affected,' but gives the rest most paraphrastically.

² Here is the same leading topic once more introduced; but introduced after new topics and fresh illustrations. The repetitions, the enforcement again and

Many great and glorious achievements, *Æschines*, has the country both undertaken and prosperously conducted through my counsels ; and of these she is not unmindful : witness the people selecting me to make the oration upon those who fell, the very moment after the catastrophe,—not you, though you were proposed, how fine soever your voice ; nor *Demades*, though he had just made the peace ; nor *Hegemon*, nor any other of you all—but me. And when you stood forward with *Pythocles*, cruelly and shamefully—good heavens!—to charge me as you now do, and to run me down, yet so much the more did they choose me. The reason of this, though you are not ignorant of it, I will nevertheless tell you. The

again of the same points, are a distinguishing feature of Δ , and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox's great eloquence. The ancient, however, was incomparably more felicitous in this than the modern ; for in the latter it often arose from carelessness, from ill-arranged discourse, from want of giving due attention, and from having once or twice attempted the topic and forgotten it, or perhaps from having failed to produce the desired effect. Now in Δ this is never the case : the early allusions to the subject of the repetition are always perfect in themselves, and would sufficiently have enforced the topic, had they stood alone. But new matter afterwards handled gave the topic new force and fresh illustration, by presenting the point in a new light.

people were aware of two things,—the patriotism and zeal with which I had carried on their affairs, and your guilt ; for those things, which, when our affairs prospered, you all denied with oaths, you confessed as soon as the State was unfortunate ; and men concluded that they who obtained from the public calamities impunity for their counsels had all along been secret enemies of the country and now were openly avowed ones. They thought it, moreover, unbecoming that he who made the oration over the deceased warriors, and extolled their merits, should be one who had sat under the same roof¹, and drunk of the same cup with those who had stood against them in battle array ; or that they who in Macedon had revelled and sung songs of triumph on the disasters of Greece with the perpetrators of the slaughter², should on their

¹ *δμερόφιον—δμόσπονδον*—‘under the same roof—making the same libations.’ Francis, ‘dwelt under the same roof, and made the same libations of hospitality and religion.’ Dawson, ‘bosom friends and intimate acquaintances.’ Leland, ‘conversed in strict connexion with,’ which is really to get out of the way as the difficulty approaches. Wolff, ‘sub eodem tecto fuissent—eadem sacra libassent.’

² Francis, ‘whose hands were drenched in the slaughter of their fellow-citizens,’ which prolixity, introducing ‘fellow-citizens,’ loses the whole point ; namely, that it was the slaughter of the persons to be commemorated,

return be received with honour; or that the calamity should be deplored by those who counterfeited tears, but by such as grieved in their hearts. This the people saw in themselves and in me, but not in any of you; and therefore they made choice of me and not of you. Nor when they thus acted, did the parents and brethren of the slain, chosen to conduct the funeral obsequies, do otherwise; for when the funeral feast was to be given, they held it at my house, as though I were, according to the usage in such cases, nearest in kindred to the deceased. And most properly; for though they were each of themselves¹ more nearly related to some of the deceased by blood, no one could be more closely allied to them all than I was, since he

and therefore like the murderer pronouncing the funeral oration of his victim.

¹ ἑκάστος ἐκάστῳ can hardly be as literally 'each to each.' Francis has it, 'Nay, each of you, separately, was more nearly related in blood to each of the deceased,' which is stark nonsense, beside changing the pronoun from *them*, the families, to *you*, the people. Dawson is better—'every one was more nearly related to some one or other amongst them.' Leland also takes this more sensible course. Wolff, 'ipsi inter se.' Stock, 'singuli singulis,' which may well do—being nearly the same with Leland and Dawson, and not wide of the Greek text; as in law we say, 'reddendo singula singulis;' in geometry, 'each to each.'

whom it most concerned that the warriors should be unscathed and victorious, he had the greatest share of the grief to bear when they suffered what, would to heaven! had never befallen them. But read here the Epitaph which the State judged it fit to inscribe on their monument, that you, Æschines, may see yourself in it unjust, calumnious, and profligate. Read!

‘These were the brave, unknowing how to yield,
Who, terrible in valour, kept the field
Against the foe; and higher than life’s breath
Prizing their honour, met the doom of death,
Our common doom—that Greece unyoked might stand,
Nor shuddering crouch beneath a tyrant’s hand.
Such was the will of Jove; and now they rest
Peaceful enfolded in their Country’s breast.
The Immortal Gods alone are ever great,
And erring mortals must submit to Fate.’

Do you hear, Æschines, even in this very inscription, that ‘The Immortal Gods alone are ever great?’ Not to the statesman does it ascribe the power of bestowing success upon armies, but to the Gods. Wherefore, then, accursed wretch, upbraid me with what has happened, and with things, which may those Gods turn against the heads of you and yours!

Although, however, Athenians, he has brought many other charges against me, and made many

false statements, yet have I chiefly marvelled at one thing, that while he made mention of those calamities which have befallen the country, he never felt like a patriot and a good citizen, nor shed tears, nor suffered any affection approaching to tears; but raising his voice, and exulting, and vociferating¹, fancied, forsooth, he was accusing me when he was only showing that he did not feel as all other men felt upon the public misfortunes. And yet the man who affects a deep concern for our laws and constitution, as Æschines now does, ought, if he has no other quality, at least to have the fellow feeling with the people of sorrowing and rejoicing over the same events, and not pursue that line of policy which must make him take part with the enemy, as you, Æschines, are now

¹ λαρυγγίζων. Francis, 'clamorously distending his throat.' Dawson, 'clamorously insulting you.' Leland, 'strained and swelled.' The word is very expressive. Wolff, 'faucibus resonans.' Stock, 'gulam dilatans.' The literal meaning is to strain the throat or wind-pipe.—This is properly the commencement of the magnificent peroration, of which no part is finer than the earlier portion, both in sense, in diction, and in rhythm. The recapitulation and enforcement of all the main topics of the orator, with new and exquisite beauties, and even fresh topics, is deeply to be considered, and never can be enough admired.

clearly proved to have done, while you pretend that every thing is owing to me, and that through me the country has been brought to its present condition, instead of admitting that she first began to succour all Greece through my policy and my measures. For if, Athenians, you were only to grant me this, that I was the cause of your resisting the domination which was preparing for the Greeks, a far greater gift would be conferred upon me than all you have bestowed upon others. But this I will not assert, for it would be doing you injustice, nor would you, I well know, admit it; and Æschines himself, if he acted with any fairness, would not, even through hostility towards me, thus tarnish and destroy¹ the greatest of all your glories.

But why do I dwell on such things, when

¹ ἴβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν. Francis is here bad, 'wounded your reputation or calumniated your fairest annals.' Dawson must needs leave out half, and then lend Δ a figure—an antithesis too—'blacken those means which you were of opinion had shed new lustre on your ancient glory'—an accommodation which Δ assuredly never stood less in need of than here. Leland's 'disgrace and deny' is insufficient. The words literally are 'wound and tear to pieces, or run down.' Perhaps 'wound and tear away' might do; but the version adopted in the text is literal enough, and it is according to our idiomatic collocation.

he made so many other charges, and asserted so many other falsehoods far worse than these? For he who could—gracious God!—accuse me of Philippising¹, what will he not say? But, by all the Powers of Heaven, if we are to regard the truth, and lay aside all falsehood and personal slander, it will be found that they on whose heads should truly and justly fall by common consent the blame of causing these events resemble him and his party in each state and not me—men who, when Philip's power was feeble and his influence small, while we, repeatedly warning, and exhorting, and inculcating the soundest views, sacrificed the public interests for lucre of gain², each deceiving and corrupting his own countrymen until they made all of them slaves:—Daochus, Cinēas, Thrasidæus, the Thessalians; Cerci-

¹ φιλιππισμόν. This cant word was like our 'Jacobinism,' and also 'Gallican' and 'Anti-Gallican.' Francis feebly gives it, 'supporting the interests of Philip.' Leland, 'favouring Philip.' Dawson, 'being Philip's creatures,' which is better. Wolff, 'Philippi studium.' Surely the meaning cannot well be given without coming a word as the Greeks did.

² αἰσχροκερδίας. 'Lucre of gain' has become, from Scripture, a common idiomatic expression—though its structure is not very sensible. It perfectly expresses the sordid quality finely given in the Greek.

das, Hieronymus, Eucalpidas, the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teladamus, Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, the Eleans; the sons of Philides, a man hateful to the Gods, Neon, and Thrasylochus, the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus, Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptæodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, the Megareans; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemætas, the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosistratus, the Eubœans. The day would fail me were I to recall the names of all the traitors. Those are they, Men of Athens, whose counsels have been each in his own country like those of our adversaries here—base and fawning creatures, wretches who have mutilated the glory each of his own native land, toasting away their liberties to the health, first of Philip, then of Alexander¹; measuring their happiness by their gluttony and debauchery, but utterly

¹ πεπωκίτες πρότερον Φιλίππου, νῦν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου. The text is literal, and the fine expression of the original is preserved. The Frenchman feels its beauty, but says, unable to render it, 'I have substituted another figure!' So he leaves out Alexander, and also Δ's figure, and says, 'assis à la table de Philippe, la coupe à la main, lui vendoient la liberté publique.' This is too much. Wolff, 'Propinantes.' Leland, 'tendering to Philip with a wanton indifference.'

overthrowing those rights of freemen, and that independence of any master which the Greeks of former days regarded as the test and the summit¹ of all felicity.

This disgraceful and notorious conspiracy and wickedness, then,—but rather, Athenians, let us say, if we would not trifle with the subject,—this betraying of the liberties of Greece, can, by the common consent of all mankind, neither be charged upon the State, which followed my counsels, nor upon me in your estimation. Then you ask what is my title to public honours? I will tell you². It is, that while the statesmen of Greece, beginning with yourself, Æschines, were all corrupted—first by Philip and then by Alexander—over me

¹ ὅροι καὶ κανόνες, literally 'the boundaries and rules;' but 'boundary' or 'limit,' may well mean 'height' or 'summit,' and 'test' is quite sufficiently near 'rule' or 'canon.' This is a noble burst—ἀλάστορες, in most codices, is given as part of the epithets applied at first and unconnected with what follows; but the joining it with ἡκρωτηριασμένοι saves the introduction of 'men,' or 'persons.'

² There are few finer passages, even in Δ, than this. The rapidity and force are astonishing; its effect, in the noble language of the original, must have been prodigious; but it would have wonderful power in any tongue, and before any audience, from the multitude up to the Senate.

neither opportunity, nor fair speeches, nor lavish promises, nor hopes, nor fears, nor favours, nor any other earthly consideration ever prevailed, seducing or driving me to betray in any one particular what I deemed the rights and the interests of my country. Never did I, like you, and such as you, incline my counsels as if weighed in a balance towards the side that paid the best; but my whole conduct was formed by a righteous, and just, and incorruptible soul; and having borne the most forward part among the men of my times in administering the mightiest affairs, my whole policy has ever been sound, and honest, and open. For these things I claim to be honoured.

¹ But this repair of the walls and the fosses

¹ The fame of this noble passage is great and universal. It is of a beauty and force made for all times and all places; its effect with us may be imagined by supposing Mr. Pitt to have been attacked for his Martello towers, the use of which was far more doubtful than Δ's *τειχισμός* and *ταφρέα*, and to have indignantly and proudly appealed to the other services he had rendered, and the other outworks he had erected for our internal protection against foreign and domestic enemies. One seems to hear him nobly pour forth his magnificent periods, alike majestic in structure and in tone, upon the 'lines of circumvallation far mightier than any fortress, lines which the energy of a united people, and the wisdom

which you revile, I deem to merit favour and commendation: wherefore should I not? Yet, I certainly place this far below my administration of public affairs. For I have not fortified Athens with stone walls and tiled roofs: no, not I! Neither is it on deeds like these that I plume myself. But would you justly estimate my outworks, you will find armaments, and cities, and settlements, and harbours, and fleets, and cavalry, and armies raised to defend us:—these are the defences that I drew around Attica, as far as human prudence could defend her, and with such outworks as these I fortified the country at large, not the mere circuit of the arsenal and the city! Nor was it I that succumbed to Philip's policy and his arms; very far otherwise! but the captains and the forces of your allies yielded to his fortune. What are the proofs of it? They are manifest

of a British parliament had drawn around our glorious constitution, placing it, in proud security, above all the assaults either of an insulting enemy from without, or a more desperate foe at home,'—and 'desiring that his title to the gratitude of his country should be rested on foundations like these, far more imperishable than any works which the hands of man could raise'—Or would he haply have spoken figuratively of 'the loftier towers which he had raised in the people's hearts, and the exhaustless magazines of their loyalty and valour'?

and plain, and you shall see them. For what was the part of a patriotic citizen? What the part of him who would serve his country with all earnestness, and zeal, and honesty of purpose? Was it not to cover Attica, on the seaboard with Eubœa—inland with Bœotia—on the Peloponnesus with the adjoining territories? Was it not to provide for making the corn trade secure, that every coast our ships sailed along till they reached the Piræus might be friendly to us? Was it not to save some points of our dominion, such as Preconnesus, the Chersonese, Tenedos, by dispatching succours, and making the necessary statements, and proposing the fit decrees? Was it not to secure from the first the co-operation and alliance of other states, Byzantium, Abydos, Eubœa? Was it not to wrest from the enemy his principal forces? Was it not to supply what this country most wanted? Then all these things were effected by my Decrees, and my measures. All these things, Athenians, if any one chooses to examine the matter without prejudice, he will find both correctly advised by me, and executed with perfect integrity; and that no opportunity¹

¹ Literally, the opportunity for each thing neither omitted, nor unknown, nor betrayed—(οὐ κατελείποντα, οὐδ' ἀγνοούμενα, οὐδὲ προδοούμενα)—but the structure in the text

was lost by me, through carelessness, or through ignorance, or through treachery¹, nor any thing neglected which it could fall within the power and the wisdom of one man to do. But if the favour of some Deity, or of Fortune, or the remissness of commanders, or the wickedness of traitors like you, Æschines, in different states, or if all these causes together have embarrassed our whole affairs, and brought them to ruin—wherein has Demosthenes been to blame? But if there had been found in any Greek State one man such as I have been in my sphere among you, rather if Thessaly had only possessed a single man, and if Arcadia had possessed any one of the same principles with

is evidently both English and literal, though an additional participle is necessarily introduced, from the want of a word answering to ἀγνοηθείς, or ignoratus.

The whole of this rapid summary and recapitulation of his administration is admirable—too short and general for the body of his defence, but perfectly suited to the resumption of it in the peroration, and following the fine burst οὐ γὰρ λίθοις, with prodigious effect, because showing that the subject of the burst was not a mere figure, a happy antithesis, but a serious statement of facts. This is a quality almost peculiar to Δ's figures, and it is probably one reason why some critics have denied him a figurative style. His figures are facts and reasons as well as figures.

¹ Wolff omits ὕμῳς.

me, none of all the Greeks, whether within Thermopylæ or without, would have been suffering their present miseries; but all remaining free, and independent, and secure from alarm, would in perfect tranquillity and prosperity have dwelt in their native land, rendering thanks to you and the rest of the Athenian People for so many and such signal blessings conferred on them through me. That you may perceive how much smaller my words are than my works¹, through fear of misconstruction, read now and recite the account of the succours sent in pursuance of my Decrees.

THE ACCOUNT OF SUCCOURS.

These, and acts like these, Æschines, it is the duty of a patriot to perform, (which, had they proved successful, oh, God! would have

¹ Dawson, with singular infelicity, makes Δ say here, 'that I have used expressions far short of the greatness of my actions.' Francis is not much happier in his version, 'beneath the dignity of my actions.' Leland far better, 'that I have spoken much less than I could justify by facts.' Wolff, '*verbis longe tenuioribus quam pro magnitudine rerum.*' It is indeed an expression for 'understating his case.'

placed us beyond all controversy on the summit of power, and without a wrong to any party; but as the event has been different, we have only obtained the glory, and the state and my policy is freed from all blame, Fortune alone being in fault, which has so ordered our affairs) —no, by heaven! never will a patriot¹ abandon the cause of his country—nor hire himself out to her enemies—nor watch over their interests rather than over her own—nor run down whoever undertakes to inculcate and propound measures worthy of the state, and perseveres in this course—nor record and treasure up whatever private injuries he may have sustained from any one—nor lead a life of criminal and traitorous retirement², as you are too wont to do. There is, indeed, there is a kind of retirement justifiable and beneficial to the State; a retirement which the bulk of you, my fellow citizens, honestly³ enjoy. But that is very far

¹ This is repeated, from the great distance of the relative noun before the long parenthesis.

² ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν. Wolff's 'otium' badly renders this. Francis and Dawson have 'retirement,' and Leland has the same; and possibly his version of δασικόν and ὑπουλον, dishonest and invidious, is not wrong, though that in the text seems preferable.

³ Not making it a cloak for mischief. ἀπλῶς, literally, sincerely, simply.

indeed from being the retirement of this man; keeping aloof from public affairs when he thinks fit (and he oftentimes does think fit), he watches the moment when you are tired of some one who is always addressing you, or when some adverse fortune has befallen us, or some other untoward thing has happened (as will often occur in human concerns); and then, at this juncture, sudden the orator rises from his retirement, like a gust of wind¹, and raising his voice, and crowding together words and phrases, rolls them forth, fluently and breathlessly, to no profit of the country, nor the attainment of any good whatever, but to the detriment of individual citizens, and to the disgrace of all. And this concern, Æschines, and this zeal, if it proceeded from a sound heart, and one only anxious for the interests of the country, would bear wholesome fruits, and fair to behold, and beneficial to all; alliances with

¹ This is a very fine simile, and equal to the *ἄσπερος νέφος*, only being less sudden, short, and transient, it is better adapted to spoken discourse. Wolf renders *πνεῦμα*, 'ventus.' Stock, 'turbo.' So Francis, 'whirlwind.' Dawson, 'tempest,' which is clearly wrong. Leland, 'sudden gust of wind.' Perhaps it is better rendered by gust or blast than by wind, *ἄνεμος* being wind. There seems no reason for 'whirlwind,' any more than 'tempest.'

foreign states, supplies of money, establishments of trade, the enactment of useful laws, resistance to open enemies.

All these things were exemplified in past times, and those times afford many exhibitions of the qualities of a perfect patriot; in which exhibitions assuredly you, *Æschines*, never would have been found, neither first, neither second, nor third, nor fourth nor fifth, nor yet sixth¹, nor in any place at all; certainly not when the resources of the state were to be extended. For, what alliance ever accrued to the country of your making? Or what succours, or goodwill, or glory of your gaining? Or what embassy, or what other public functions, whereby the state acquired honour? What domestic affair, or concern of the Greek states, or of strangers, over which you presided, was ever set right through you? What galleys, what armaments, what arsenals, what repairs of the walls, what cavalry? In what one of all these particulars have you ever proved useful? What benefit has ever accrued to either rich or poor from your fortunes?

¹ This refers, as is supposed, to an oracle of Apollo, in answer to the question, 'What rank the *Ægeans* held?' The answer was, 'Neither third, nor fourth, nor twelfth. You have no character or number at all.'

None.—‘But, hark ¹!’ says some one, ‘if nothing of all this was done, at least there existed good dispositions and public spirit.’ Where? When? you most wicked of men?—you who, when all that ever opened their mouths on the Bema contributed somewhat to the public safety, when at last Aristonicus paid in as a gift the money he had saved for recovering his rank²,—you, who even then neither came forward yourself, nor gave one mite! Not that you were poor. For why? You inherited from your kinsman³ Philo above five talents;

¹ ὦ τῶν, rendered here by translators *heus*. It is an exclamation, and is put into either the mouth of Æschines or some one else.

² εἰς ἐπιτίμιαν. Reiske, ‘to support his dignity’ So Francis. Wolff, ‘ad dignitatem recuperandam.’ Dawson says it is ‘money collected to pay his fine, in case, after being paymaster, he should be mulcted.’ If so, we must read τὸν ἐπιτίμιον, or τὰ ἐπιτίμια. But Wolff gives it as real money. It appears that Aristonicus owed a sum to the treasury for some offence, and that he cunningly paid his debt as a patriotic gift, and had his fine remitted. Some, as Ulpian, render it that it was money in his hands belonging to the state, and raised for the public service ‘to recover their dignity as a nation.’ Leland refers it to an advance required as a qualification for office. Perhaps Dawson is right, and that we should read ἐπιτίμιον. Ferri, Lambinus, Perionius are otherwise.

³ κηδεστοῦ. Francis, ‘father-in-law.’ So Scapula.

and you received a gift of two talents subscribed by the wealthier tax-payers for defeating the naval law. But I shall pass over these things, that I may not be diverted from the main question by going from topic to topic¹. Still what I have said already will show that your contributing nothing was not owing to your poverty but to your taking special care nothing you did should ever counteract the schemes of those to whom all your policy was subservient. In what, then, are you bold, and when are you munificent? When any thing is to be urged against your countrymen, then are you most copious of speech—most profuse of money—most rich in memory—a first-rate actor—the Theocrines of the stage²!

¹ Francis, 'multiplying arguments upon arguments.' Dawson, 'touching on every thing that happens to fall in my way.' Leland, 'led off from one point to another.' Wolff, 'aliud ex alio dicendo.' It means, 'by letting one word or topic suggest another;' λόγου ἐκ λόγῳ λέγων.

² Theocrines had been a stage-player, and turned informer; he was often named in reference to the Christians in early times proverbially. Dawson says, 'outbluster Theocrines,' which is his own figure, not Δ's. Palmer takes it adjectively, 'chosen of God;' but this would be Θεόκριτος, and then why τραγικός? The whole passage here is magnificent—of prodigious force and concision. The ideas are powerful, and the diction per-

Then you recount the famous men of other days¹. And you do well to praise them. But it is not fair, Athenians, to take advantage of the love you bear the memory of the deceased for the purpose of matching and comparing me with them—me, who am your own contemporary. For which of us all can be unaware that every one living is exposed to more or less of envy, while not even their enemies bear any hatred to the dead²? Such being the nature of men, am I to be judged and tried in reference to those who have gone before me? By no means. It is not just, it is not fair, Æschines; the parallel must be with yourself, and whom

fect. A grand effect is ever produced in oratory by closing a passage with such accumulation of weighty and telling expressions, condensed and powerful. It is a resource of the art far too little drawn upon in our times.

¹ This refers to the magnificent peroration of Æschines: which would be one of the greatest of all the remains of ancient eloquence, but for the terribly lame conclusion—the last few words. That peroration plainly suggested the oath to Δ, and not, as Longinus supposes, the verses from Eupolides: *περὶ ὑψ.* 3. 16.

² This is as observable in modern as in ancient party strifes.—Cicero's supposed answer to Sallust's oration almost translates this fine passage about envy and death. Δ has here copied Thucydides, ii. 45—*φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνατρυγνίσταρ εἰσολά τετίμῃται.*

else you please, of those that side with you and are still living. And consider again—whether is it more honourable and more for the interest of the country, that, because of the services rendered by our predecessors, prodigious though they be beyond all power of expression¹, we should show ingratitude and detraction towards those of the present day; or that we should show honour and favour to all who have ever done any patriotic deed? And yet, if I must speak out, my measures and policy, when they shall be accurately considered, will appear to resemble those of the men who have been eulogized, and to be pointed towards the same ends, while yours, Æschines, are like those of their calumniators. For it appears that there were in those days persons who ran down the great men² of the age, and praised those that had gone before them; an invidious thing, and the

¹ *οὐρας ὑπερμεγέθεις οὐ μὲν οὖν εἶποι τις ἂν ἡλικας.* Wolff, 'quæ sunt immensa quorum utique magnitudo verbis exprimi non potest.' Leland, 'great and exalted as they are, beyond all expression great.' This is not translating; nor is it translating to add a whole figure, 'making the benefits received from our ancestors a pretence for,' &c.

² The ambiguity of *οὔτοι* and *τούτους* here, as elsewhere, renders it necessary to introduce a word.

very thing you are now about. Do you say that I in no respect resemble those patriots? Do you then resemble them yourself, Æschines? Or does your brother? Or does any of the orators of these times? I deny it altogether. But with the living, most worthy person (I say no more), compare the living and those who belong to the same department, as we do in every thing else—poets, singers, wrestlers. Philammon did not leave the Olympic games uncrowned because he was inferior to Glaucus of Carystus¹, and other wrestlers of a former age, but because he overcame all who appeared against him he was crowned and proclaimed conqueror. Compare me thus with the present race of statesmen, with yourself, with whomsoever you please of them all, I will yield to none; men among whom, while it was possible to preserve the best interests of the country, while the contest of patriotism was open to us all, I was seen giving the soundest counsels, and every thing was ordered by my decrees, and my laws and my negotiations. But of all

¹ This Glaucus, having been a ploughboy, once knocked in the coulter with his fist. Being taken by his father to the Games, for want of skill he was nearly beaten; when his father cried out, 'Treat him like the coulter,' on which he felled his antagonist to the ground.

your party there was not one that ever appeared in any way, unless when some affront was to be put upon the people¹; yet when that event² happened, which would to Heaven we had been spared, and when men were wanted, not to counsel, but to do as they might be ordered, and eagerly to exert themselves against the country, and to play the willing parasite to others, then it was that you and each of your party became flourishing, and wealthy, and attended with equipages³, while I was feeble, I confess it, but far more devoted than you to this People!

Two qualities⁴, men of Athens, every citi-

¹ *ἐπηρεάσαι*. Francis, 'distress the country.' Dawson, 'criticise and cavil.' Leland, 'vent his insolence.' Wolff, 'insultandum.'

² Chæronea.

³ *ἵπποτροφοί*. Keepers of horses, or equipage. Francis, 'pomp of equipage.' Dawson, 'fine horses and magnificent equipages.' Why both? Leland has 'equipages,' but he puts three other words instead of Δ's two, namely, 'magnificence, state, and splendour.' Wolff, 'equos splendide alebat.'

⁴ It does not very distinctly appear that he enumerates two qualities; for though we have first the official course, and then the general zeal in all situations, yet the same verb governs both, *φυλάττειν*, and it comes after another, *ἔχειν*, applied to the *δύο*; and moreover, the word which connects the preceding sentence with natural disposition,

zen¹ of ordinary worth ought to possess (I shall be able in general terms² to speak of myself in the least invidious manner): he should both maintain in office the purpose of a firm³ mind and the course suited to his country's pre-eminence, and on all occasions and in all his actions the spirit of patriotism. This belongs to our nature; victory and might are under the dominion of another power⁴. These dispositions

φύσις, is in the singular, *τούτου*, as if only one quality had been mentioned; and there seems no reason for confining the distinction between nature and fortune to the latter of the two things, *εὐνοία*. An orator in our careless times sometimes forgets the scheme he had laid down, or the matters he had promised to touch. This never can be imputed to Δ, and we must therefore suppose the two to be enumerated.

¹ *μέτριον*. Francis, 'however moderate his abilities.' This is nonsense. The word is one of moral praise, and of the highest praise in some cases, almost combining all good qualities, though here it means any one of average worth.

² *οὕτω* or *οὕτως* seems here to be 'thus generally.' Leland's 'in general terms' seems to hit the mark exactly. Wolff's 'sic enim' is hardly enough.

³ *γενναίου* denotes here much rather firmness or magnanimity than generosity. Stock, 'magnanimitatis.' Wolff, 'generosi.' Leland escapes by making it 'zeal for the honour of the state;' giving 'pre-eminence' for the *πρωτείου*.

⁴ *ἄρπα* refers to fortune here; but the text, with Le-

you will find to have been absolutely inherent in me. For observe; neither when my head was demanded¹, nor when they dragged me before the Amphyctions, nor when they threatened, nor when they promised, nor when they let loose on me these wretches like wild beasts², did I ever abate in any particular my affection for you. This straightforward and honest path of policy, from the very first, I chose; the honour, the power, the glory of my country to promote—these to augment—in these to have my being³. Never was I seen going about the

land, gives that clearly enough. Wolff, notwithstanding all his abstinence, gives 'fortuna.'

¹ *δέχαιρόμενος*. Francis, 'When Philip demanded I should be given up to his resentment,' enough certainly for one word. Dawson is much better, 'demanded me to be given up;' but he had just before exhausted his powers of paraphrase on *τουτου η φύσις κυρία*. 'By preserving these sentiments we follow Nature herself, and bind ourselves to nothing but what is in our own power.' Then *του δύνασθαι δι και ισχύειν έτερα*. 'But conquest and empire are not the necessary consequences of virtue and wisdom, but depend upon a mere capricious being.' It really should seem that a portion of the reverend author's sermon had found its way into this portion of his translation.

² Dawson makes them actually 'worry' Δ, who only says, they were let loose upon him.

³ *μετά τούτων είναι*. Wolff, 'in his vivere,' well enough—not literal. Stock, 'cum his consisterem.' Leland,

streets elated and exulting when the enemy was victorious, stretching out my hand, and congratulating such as I thought would tell it elsewhere, but hearing with alarm any success of our own armies, moaning and bent to the earth like these impious men, who rail at this country as if they could do so without also stigmatizing themselves¹; and who, turning their eyes abroad,

‘my whole being is devoted to this glorious cause;’ which silly addition of ‘glorious cause’ really only serves to weaken a very good version— ‘in these to live,’ or ‘by these to abide,’ might do. The text is more literal, and gives the sense pretty fairly.

¹ Francis, good here, ‘as if they could slander her without publishing their own infamy.’ Leland also good, though less close, ‘defamers of the state, and thus defamers of themselves.’ The transition from this common topic to the actual peroration is inimitable. The whole passage, beginning *δύο*, is beyond all praise. When Cicero said his ears were so insatiable as even in *Δ* ever to desiderate something more to fill them (*ita avidæ et capaces*) he must have forgotten the effect of this wonderful peroration, which is condensed, full of matter, rapid, even fierce, and rolls on in a torrent so majestic, with all its fury, that nothing like it can any where else be seen. In the midst of it all there is a touching, almost a pathetic introduction of feeling, *οὐδαμῶς προδίδωκεν ἐγὼ τῇ ἐς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν*, which here is not zeal or patriotism, but the affection he cherished in his bosom for the people, all and each of them, as he says in the exordium, and which not all his own troubles and perils could extinguish, or abate, or cool. The transition to the calm,

and seeing the prosperity of the enemy in the calamities of Greece, rejoice in them, and maintain that we should labour to make them last for ever!

¹ Let not, oh gracious God, let not such con-

but solemn, dignified, eminently impressive close of the whole is equally fine, and must have had a marvellous effect.

¹ Hard as is the translator's task before and throughout, but more especially as he approaches his release from an almost impossible attempt, at the very end of all it becomes yet more hopeless. The very first words are untranslatable by the structure of our language, the *μη δὴ ῥ'*. The associations of religion make the next impossible. We cannot individualise with any gravity, and say, 'O all ye Gods, let not any one of your number sanction.' Yet to an Attic audience the intensive effect of this must have been very great. The noble phrase *τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς* is not so inapproachable, yet never can be equalled. Francis has it very ill, 'separate you wholly from this people.' Dawson worse, 'banish you from all commerce with human kind.' Leland, 'on them, on them only, discharge your vengeance.' Now though Δ by the force of these words, and the subsequent prayer for *ἡμῖν τοῖς λοιποῖς* implies the separating; he does any thing rather than say it in terms. Wolff omits the words entirely, giving only 'cos,' which is very bad. Then come the most difficult words of all, the *ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις*. *προώλεις* probably means cutting off before their time, and *ἐξώλεις* entirely extirpating. In the *παραπρεσβεία* Δ says *ἐξώλης καὶ προώλης ἀπυλοίμην*, and it was a common thing to imprecate *ἐξώλειαν*, utter destruction: it means

duct receive any manner of sanction from thee! Rather plant even in these men a better spirit and better feelings! But if they are wholly incurable, then pursue themselves, yea, themselves by themselves, to utter and untimely perdition by land and by sea; and to us who are spared vouchsafe to grant the speediest rescue from our impending alarms, and an unshaken security!

being cut off out of the world. It is remarkable that in some MS. *προώλεις* is left out. Wolff, 'ad internecionem funditus.' Stock, 'funditus et immatura morte.' Francis, 'entirely and universally.' Dawson, 'with hasty vengeance utterly extirpated.' Leland, 'pursue them even to destruction.' The *σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ* is almost equally difficult; it is unslippery, untottering, but it also means undeceitful.—After much consideration 'unshaken' has been adopted on the suggestion of a friend whose taste and knowledge of our language is not surpassed. The inversion of the original however has been avoided as not idiomatic. The music of this closing passage is almost as fine as the sense is impressive and grand, and the manner dignified and calm.
